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N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.),
GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPhist FOR INDIA.

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- 59 tamai ā ēru dāṁṭi Saṁkka(ka)nipalli kōḍu sīmagānu vachchi a(ā)gnēyaṁ mūla Sa-
 60 mkanipalli polamēra-gaṭṭu mōchenu | dakṣiṇamunaku Vinnakōṭa polamu vāya-
 61 vyaṁ mūla magiḍi dakṣiṇaṁ-mukhamai pōyi Alligumṭa mōchi aṭṭē pa-
 62 ḍumaṛa-mukhamai pōyi nairiṭi-mūla Kānumallapūṁḍi polamu mōchenu[*]
 63 paḍumaṭi sīma Vaṭṭūri Akka-ḍomka paḍumaṭi kara paṭṭikoni vachchi Vannēru
 sahita-
 64 mu-gānu Prattipāṭi polamu āgnēyaṁ mūla mōchi uttarāṁ-mukhamai

Fifth Plate; First Side.

- 65 Naṁdi-vaṁppu sahitamugā vachchi Rājīnāyini-Pālapaṭi vellaḍi polamu mō-
 66 chi mēḍitāpai Kṛiṁkulamirṭi polamu paḍumaṭi kara-vaṭṭukoni uttarāṁ-mukhamai
 67 pōyi Pālakōḍu dāṁṭi uttara-mukhamai pōyi vāyavyaṁ mūla Kalu-
 68 vapūṁḍi kara mōchenu | uttarāṁ sīma ā karē sīmagānu tūrpu mukhamai
 69 sāgi vachchi aluka-pannāsa dakṣiṇapūṁ-gara sīmagā vachchi Vannēru mōchi
 dakṣiṇaṁ¹
 70 mukhamai Vannēre sīmagānu Kṛiṁkulamirru Pulipāḍu sahitamgā vachchi
 71 Gurumjakōḍu vāsina chōṭunu Vannēru dāṁṭi tūrpu-mukhamai iśānyaṁ
 72 mūla Mrānikomḍa polamu mōchenu || Sva-dattā[d*]=dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ para-datt-ā-

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

- 73 nupālanam(nē) | para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattam nishphalaṁ bhavēt || [15*] Sva-
 dattam para-dattam
 74 vā yō harēta vasumddharām(rām) | shasṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyātē
 kṛimih || [16*]
 75 Ēk=aiva bhagini lōkē [sarvvēśhām=api bhūbhujām(jām) | na bhōgyā na kara-grāhyā
 vipra-dattā vasuṁ-
 76 ddha(dha)rā || [17*] Ana-Vōta-narēṁdrasya vidvān Bālasarasvatī | akarōd-ākaro
 vāchām ni-
 77 rmmalaṁ dharma-śāsanam(nam) || [18*] Śivam=astu | Śrī[h ||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) May the tusk of the Boar-incarnation of the Supreme Being, bearing the earth on its extremity and looking most beautiful like the crescent which is kissed at its cusp by the clouds, protect the worlds.

(Verse 2) May the Sun and the Moon resting (*respectively*) on the western and eastern mountains during the full-moon evenings and displaying, as it were, (*their*) former act of being the wheels to the chariot, the earth, of Purāri (*i.e.*, Śiva), dispel your darkness.

(Verse 3) From the lotus feet of the lotus-navelled god (*i.e.* Vishṇu) was born, for the good of the world, the noble fourth caste, virtuous, illustrious with rich life and divided hundredfold like the sacred Ganges rich with profuse water and split into a hundred branches.

¹ The anusvara is written in the next line.

(Verse 4) In that (*caste*) was born (*a king*) named Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed steps, Śrīśaila (*mountain*), who was expert in making gifts mentioned in the work on rituals (*Kalp*) by Hēmādri and whose fame was established by his gifts of limitless lands.

(Verse 5) King Vēma made the Vṛisha (*lit. bull, i.e., Dharma*) which was one-legged on account of the evil of the Kali age and (*so*) was limping in his walk, steady in its course by the power of the *Vēdas* (*being chanted with pada and krama*) by the Brāhmins to whom *agrahā* (*villages*) had been given.

(Verse 6) I fancy that the names spoken of in other *yugas* such as Dharmātmaja, Dāsara, and Prithu are the sacred old names of king Vēma (*himself*).

(Verse 7) When the Nāga women were chanting his (*i.e., Prōlaya-Vēma's*) glory, the serpent, being unable to see the beauty of their faces, which was the root of love, and at the same time listen to the musical composition (*sung by them*), could not bear (*the reputation of*) hearing through the eyes.

(Verse 8) When he attacked (*the enemy*) kings in fight, the crest-jewels of his foes, split by the arrows of him who was (*like*) Pārtha in battle, scattered about as though they were the sparks of the fire of his valour.

(Verse 9) From this king Vēma were born as from the eastern mountain, two sons (*viz.* prince Ana-Vōta and prince śrī-Anna-Vēma, the protector of the world—who were the receptacles of valour and great splendour, who were equal to the Sun and the Moon in lustre.

(Verse 10) When the hearts of the enemies were broken by the deep sounds of the war-drum of king Ana-Vōta, the sentiment of fear coming from some unknown quarter drove away the spirit of heroism which was there already. It is meet that a powerful (*current*) of new water drive away the old water.

(Verse 11) The fire lit to the military barracks during the attacks on the palace of the enemy kings, shining with sparks that are the thick drops flowing from the pavement made of gold, looks by the heat of its great glow, like (*lit. puts on the garb of*) the golden mountain (*i.e., Hēmādri*) which is combined with its hill ranges and the golden streams and is covered with rows of stars.

(Verse 12) The shrewd (*lit. who had wisdom as their support*) ministers (*of the enemy kings*) advise their masters, who were repeating the names of Arjuna immediately after hearing the sound of his (*i.e., Ana-Vōta's*) war-drums which resembled the sound of thunder, that those military titles of him who was the Arjuna on the battle-field (*i.e., Ana-Vōta*) should (*instead*) be repeated always for their protection.

(Verse 13) In the Śaka year counted by *gagana* (0), *ibha* (8), and *sūrya* (12), (*i.e., 1280*), in the month of Pausa, on a Tuesday which had the *darśa* (*tithi*)—during the solar eclipse, king Ana-Vōta gladly gave to the Brāhmins the village Kōḍūru along with the eight *aśvāryas* and eight *bhōgas*.

(Verse 14) May the village by name Annavōtapuram situated on the banks of the river Malāpāhā and given to the Brāhmins shine (*supreme*) as long as the Sun and the Moon (*last*).

(Lines 33 to 56) The names of the 61 donees with their *gōtras* and shares are enumerated (see list on pp. 140 ff.).

(Lines 57 to 72) The boundaries of the gift village are specified in Telugu.

(Lines 72 to 77) Three imprecatory verses and a verse stating that the composer of the grant was Bālasarasvatī, the *vidvān* of king Ana-Vōta, are given here.

No. 14.—THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM MAYURBHANJ.¹

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., VICE-CHANCELLOR, DACCA UNIVERSITY.

A.—Ādipur Copper-plate of Narēndrabhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring about 11" by 8½". It contains 41 lines of writing engraved on both sides. A circular seal, representing a full-blown lotus, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate. The seal has a diameter of 3½", and on its surface is engraved, in relief, inside a raised circular rim, the figure of a humped bull with that of a small crescent above it, and the legend 'Śrī-Narēndrabhañjadēvasya' below. There is a floral design underneath the legend. The seal bears a very close resemblance to that of Tribhuvana Mahādēvi of the Kara dynasty.²

The plate was discovered in 1927 by a Kōl peasant in course of digging a field near the village of Ādipur in the Pāñchpir Sub-division of Mayūrbhanj State, and is now preserved in the Mayūrbhanj State Museum at Bāripadā. Mr. K. C. Neogy, the Dewan of the Mayūrbhanj State, kindly sent the plate to me for decipherment, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except a small part of the reverse which is badly corroded, with the result that a few letters in the formal portion of the grant are not legible.

The alphabet belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in the Pāla records of the tenth century A.D. It contains numerical symbols for 200, 90, 3 and 1.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of eleven verses, including the usual imprecatory verses, the inscription is written in prose. Some of these verses are, however, very faulty, and require addition or omission of letters to suit the requirements of the metre. The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor and there are many mistakes both in spelling and in grammar.

As regards orthography, *b* and *v* are not distinguished; the *anuvāra* is represented in some cases by guttural *ṇ* (*vaṇṣe* in line 6), while the final dental *n* is represented by *anusvāra* (*śatrūṇ* in line 11, *bhūpālān* in line 15). Consonants are usually doubled after *r*, but there are exceptions (*kṛinir=bhūtva* in line 29). Some other peculiarities seem to have been due to the ignorance of the author. Mention may be made of the use of *ś* for *s* (*āśit* in line 3, *śmara* in line 10, *praśaktaḥ* in line 13, *śalila* in line 20); of *ṛi* for *ri* (*kṛiyatē* in line 32, *śṛiyam* in line 34); of *i* for *ī* (*Bhavānīsaḥ* in line 2, *āśit* in line 3, *śariram* in line 31, *kirttayō* in line 33); and of *u* for *ū* (*purva* in line 17).

As examples of the faulty knowledge of grammar may be mentioned *mānis=tyūgīr* in line 6, *uktān=cha ddharmma-śāstrē* in line 24, *chēla* in line 32, and *vindu-llōlām* in line 33.

The author's scanty knowledge of Sanskrit literature is best exemplified by the way in which the names of *gōtras* and *pravaras* are given in lines 17-18.

The inscription records the grant of the village Vṛi(Bṛi)hat-Sārāi in Urtti-vishaya in Khijjiṅga by king Narēndrabhañja, son of king Vibhramatuṅga, and grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja. At the end of the record proper, there is a sort of postscript written in smaller characters, referring to a Grant in the same district by Mahārāja Rājabhañjadēva, son of Vibhramatuṅga, and, therefore, a brother of Narēndrabhañja. The date, *saṁvat 293*, at the end of the record, evidently refers to this latter Grant. It appears at first sight that after the inscription recording the grant of Narēndrabhañja was engraved on the copper-plate, a small space remained vacant,

¹ For the sake of convenience the historical materials in all the three Grants have been discussed together in the Introduction to A.

² Cf. e.g., the plate facing p. 425, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol II.

and it was subsequently utilised for making a brief record of the other Grant, leading to the natural presumption, that Raṇabhañja was the younger brother of Narēndrabhañja and ruled after him. But some peculiarities in Inscription B, edited below, seem to point to the opposite conclusion.

The donee in the first Grant was Bhaṭṭaputra Śītaladēva-śarman belonging to Bahurīcha-charaṇa, Āśvalāyana-śākhā, and Vatsa-gōtra. The donee in the other case was Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama.

The inscription is of great historical importance as it furnishes new materials for the reconstruction of the history of the Bhañja dynasty. The kings mentioned in it, viz., Kōṭṭabhañja, his son Vibhramatunga, and the two sons of the latter, viz., Narēndrabhañja and Raṇabhañja, belong to what has been called the second group of Bhañja kings by Mr. R. D. Banerji.¹ This group is now known to us from the following eight copper-plate grants, though Mr. Banerji knew only the first three of them.

1. Bāmanghāṭi² plate of Raṇabhañja.³
2. Khaṇḍadēulī plate of Raṇabhañja.⁴
3. Bāmanghāṭi² plate of Rājabhañja.³
4. Ukhunda plate of Pṛithvibhañja.⁵
5. Kēśari plate of Śatrubhañja⁶ (re-edited below, C).
- 6-7. Two Ādipur copper-plates of Narēndrabhañjadēva (edited below, A and B).
8. Ādipur copper-plate of Durjayabhañjadēva.⁷

The first two Grants now edited (Nos. 6-7) closely resemble Nos. 1-4 and possess all the special characteristics which distinguish them from those of the other Bhañja kings.⁸ As a matter of fact the texts of the historical portion of all these Grants (except Nos. 5 and 8) seem to have been derived from a common draft, though slight modifications have been introduced here and there. No. 5 contains some important additions which are not to be found in others, while No. 8 omits altogether the traditional account of the origin of the family.

All these records (except No. 8) begin with a reference to Virabhadra, the Ādi-Bhañja or the First Bhañja, also called Gaṇadaṇḍa. He is said to have come out of an egg of pea-hen the hermitage called Kōṭyāśrama and was brought up by the sage Vāśiṣṭha.⁹ Only No. 8 adds a few more details, particularly that he was the lord of 88,000 villages.¹⁰ All the records (except No. 8) refer next to Kōṭṭabhañja who must be regarded as the first historical king of

¹ R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 178.

² The Grant is also known as Jamdāpir plate from its findspot (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 300-1).

³ Nos. 1 and 3 were originally edited by Babu Pratāpa Chandra Ghōṣha in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XL, pp. 160 and subsequently re-edited by Babu Nagendranāth Vasu in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, Vol. pp. 141 ff. A stanza engraved on the pedestal of an image, now in the Khiching Museum, refers to a king called Rājabhañja who may be the same as this king Rājabhañja (*Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey*, 1922-3, p. 128). But it contains no historical information. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji this Rājabhañja was a different king (*Orissa*, p. 183).

⁴ Edited by MN. H. P. Śāstri in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 172.

⁵ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 427 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 429 f.

⁷ Below, pp. 172 f.

⁸ For these characteristics cf. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 180. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff.

⁹ Ins. No. 8 applies some of these epithets to Raṇabhañja.

¹⁰ Mr. Misra, who edits the plate, translates the passage as follows: "..... Virabhadra who formed was busily engaged by 88,000 sages, and in view of their request Rāmadēva served him and then made him lord of 88,000 villages". This meaning is very doubtful. The word read as 'muni' is probably 'śānu'. Cf. edited below.

family known to us. The names of the successors of Kōṭṭabhañja are, however, given differently in the different plates (Nos. 1-8).

In No. 1 the genealogy is given as follows :—

Kōṭṭabhañja
|
Digbhañja
|
Raṇabhañja.

In No. 4 Raṇabhañja is said to have been born in the family of Kōṭṭabhañja, and no mention is made of Digbhañja. The son of Raṇabhañja is Prithvībhañja. The genealogy may therefore be described as follows :—

Kōṭṭabhañja
|
Raṇabhañja
|
Prithvībhañja.

No. 5 gives the following genealogy :—

Kōṭṭabhañja
|
Dvṛjayabhañja
|
Raṇabhañja
|
Satrubhañja
|
(yuvārāja) Narēndrabhañja.

In No. 6 the genealogy is given as follows :—

Kōṭṭabhañja
|
Vibhramatūga

Raṇabhañja.

Narēndrabhañja.

In No. 7 we find the same genealogy, though the relationship of Raṇabhañja with the other kings is not clearly stated.

No. 8 gives us the following genealogy :—

Mahārājādhirāja Raṇabhañja
|
Vibhramatūga
|
(yuvārāja) Kōṭṭabhañja.

The genealogies given in Nos. 2 and 3 have been interpreted differently and a short discussion is necessary to explain the different points of view.

No. 2 mentions Kōṭṭabhañja, his son Digbhañja, and the latter's son Raṇabhañja, and so far it agrees with No. 1. But after Raṇabhañja it adds two more names in the following passage : *tasya ch=ā(au)payī(i)k-ālmajaḥ śrī-Prithvībhañja-sula-śrī-Narēndrabhañjadēvō bhūtaḥ*. In addition to the two emendations noted within brackets, MM. H. P. Śāstri, who edited the record, made a further emendation by omitting the *visarga* in 'ālmajaḥ'. He, therefore, translated the passage as follows :—

“His reputed son Prithvībhañja, whose son Narēndrabhañja was born.”

Mr. C. C. Das Gupta differed from this view and offered the following translation :—

"And his (Rājabhañja's) 'aupayika', i.e., adopted son is Narendrabhañja, the son of Prithvibhañja, i.e., Rājabhañja adopted as his son Narendrabhañja, the son of Prithvibhañja. In view of the two new Grants, Nos. 4 and 5, the interpretation of MM. H. P. Śāstrī appears to be preferable. Apart from this there is a further difficulty ; for the exact connection of Narendrabhañja with the record is not quite clear. MM. H. P. Śāstrī says that Prithvibhañja was 'a son born in lawful wedlock', but 'may have been one of the twelve classes of sons allowed by Hindu law', and he suggests that 'Rājabhañja made the grant on the occasion of the birth of a grandson named Narendrabhañja'. On the other hand Rai Bahadur Hiralal is of opinion that the Khaṇḍadēuli plate really records a grant of Narendrabhañja and not of his grandfather Rājabhañja.² Mr. R. D. Banerji differs from this view³ and accepts that of MM. H. P. Śāstrī. But the fact that the seal of the plate contains the name Narendrabhañja⁴ supports the view of Rai Bahadur Hiralal. A further argument may be cited in support of this view. The donor of this grant is the great-grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama. No. 6 records a grant by Rājabhañja to Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama. If these two identical names refer to the same person it is more likely that the donor of No. 2 is a grandson of Rājabhañja rather than Rājabhañja himself.

In No. 3 the name of the successor of Kōṭṭabhañja and the father of Rājabhañja who issued the Grant has been read as Rājabhañja both by Mr. Pratāpa Chandra Ghosh and by Mr. Nagen Nath Vasu who edited the plate. This reading has been generally accepted, and it gives us the following genealogy :—

Kōṭṭabhañja

Rājabhañja

Rājabhañja

This genealogy has been reconciled with that given in Nos. 1 and 2 by supposing that the name of Digbhañja, son of Kōṭṭabhañja and father of Rājabhañja, has been omitted through oversight.

Mr. C. C. Das Gupta has justly drawn our attention to the fact that the word 'Rājabhañja' cannot be read on the published facsimile. The first letter is undoubtedly 'ra' but the other letters cannot be clearly read, and in any case there is no 'ja' following 'ra'. He suggests that this word was misengraved for Digbhañja and constructs the following genealogy from Nos. 1 and 3.⁵

Kōṭṭabhañja

Digbhañja

Rājabhañja

Rājabhañja

¹ *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, p. 235.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 293.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 183. Curiously enough, on the preceding page Mr. Banerji says : "The actual grant was made by Narendrabhañja".

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 293, f. n. 1.

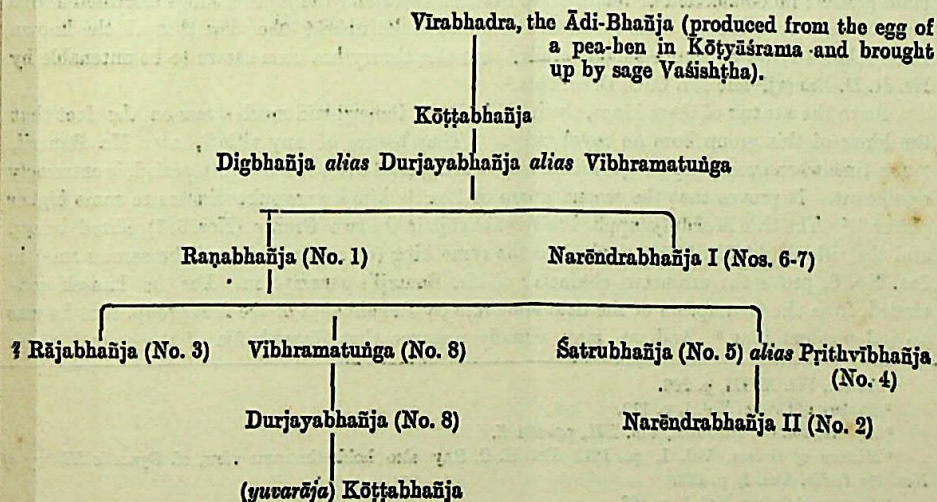
⁵ *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 234-5.

At first sight the different genealogical accounts seem to be hopelessly conflicting and any attempt to reconcile them may justly be regarded as a vain and fruitless task. But there are some points of agreement in the majority of records which might give us a clue to the ultimate solution of the problem.

All the records are unanimous, firstly, in their accounts of the origin of the founder of the family, Virabhadra, from the egg of a pea-hen in the hermitage of Vāśiṣṭha known as Kōṭyāsrama; and secondly, in regarding Kōṭṭabhañja as the first historical ruler. Here the unanimity ends. But with the exception of Nos. 3 and 4 all the other records represent Raṇabhañja as the grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja, and as the statement in No. 4 is not in conflict with this view, we may accept it as an established fact. The name of the father of Raṇabhañja is given as Digbhañja in Nos. 1 and 2, Durjayabhañja in No. 5, and Vibhramatuṅga in No. 6. There would thus appear to be three different kings bearing the same name Raṇabhañja. But on the other hand we should remember that all of them ruled in Khijjiṅga, and all of them evidently were contemporaries, being grandsons of the same king. This is specifically proved in respect of two of them as they issued Grants in the years 288 (No. 1) and 293 (No. 6). Three grandsons of the same king, bearing the same name, and ruling in the same locality at the same time (or at least within a few years of each other), may not be theoretically impossible, but must be regarded as very unusual indeed. We may, therefore, reasonably infer the identity of the three kings bearing the name Raṇabhañja. This would imply also the identity of Digbhañja, Durjayabhañja and Vibhramatuṅga, though it must be regarded as very unusual that the same king should have been referred to by three different names in the official records of the family.

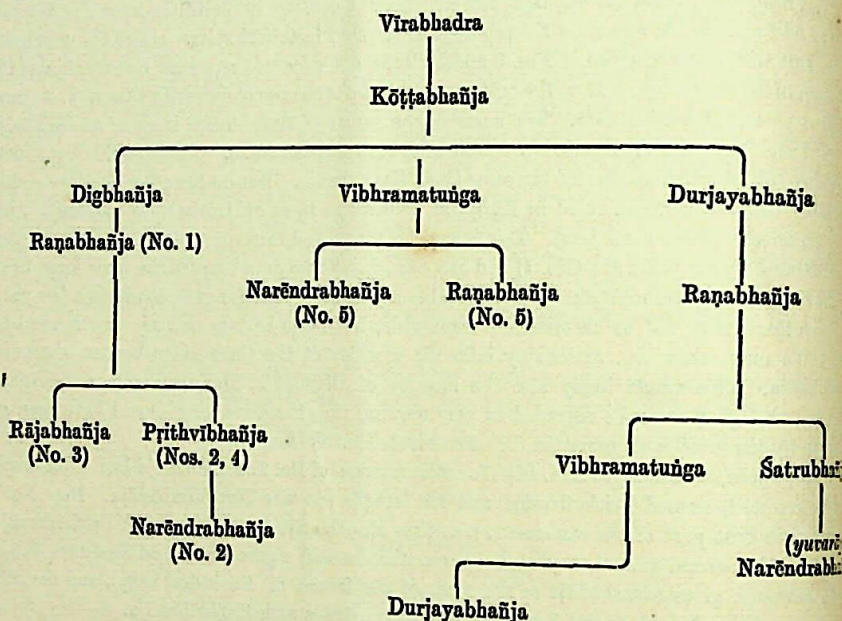
Then, again, according to MM. Śāstri's interpretation of No. 2, Raṇabhañja had a son (*aupāyika* or reputed) named Prithvibhañja and the latter's son was Narēndrabhañja. Now No. 4 confirms the first part of the statement, viz., that Raṇabhañja had a son called Prithvibhañja, and No. 5, the second part of the statement, viz., that he had a grandson called Narēndrabhañja. No. 5, however, gives Śatrubhañja as the name of the father of Narēndrabhañja, and the only way of reconciling Nos. 2, 4, and 5 is to identify Śatrubhañja with Prithvibhañja.

On the basis of the above hypotheses we may draw up the genealogy of the family tentatively as follows:—



Although this genealogy of the family cannot be regarded as finally settled, the above presents, I believe, the most reasonable inference that can be drawn from the data at present available to us.

If we reject the proposed identifications, and treat the kings with different names as so many different persons, the resulting genealogy would be as follows :—



It is unnecessary to discuss here the history of the other Bhañja kings known from copper plate grants; no connection or relationship between them and the Bhañja kings discussed above has yet been established. The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal upheld the view that all the Bhañja kings belonged to one single family,¹ but this theory has been shown to be untenable by Mr. R. D. Banerji² and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta.³

As to the status of these kings, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji laid much stress on the fact that the kings of this group bore no royal titles. "The absence of any title", says Mr. Banerji, "at a time when even petty kings had assumed the imperial titles of the Gupta period, is extremely significant. It proves that the second group of Bhañja kings were subordinates to some higher king." The title *Mahārāja* applied to Raṇabhañja in the two Grants (Nos. 6, 7) edited by Ins. No. 8, prove the erroneous character of Mr. Banerji's assumption. For he himself concluded, from the assumption of the title *Mahārāja* by Raṇabhañja of the first group, that he was an independent king.⁴ And we may equally presume that Raṇabhañja of the second group

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 286.

² *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 179.

³ *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff.

⁴ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 181. Dr. H. C. Ray also holds the same view, cf. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 423.

⁵ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 166.

was also an independent king. Indeed in this respect the fact that a ruler issues land grants with a distinctive royal seal of his own is a far stronger evidence in support of his status as a *de facto* independent ruler than mere assumption of royal or imperial titles. It would be more reasonable, therefore, to regard the Bhañja kings, who issued royal charters with their own seals, as independent rulers, at least for all practical purposes, irrespective of the question whether they assumed royal and imperial titles or not.

The Grant No. 5 refers to Virabhadra as *Chakravarti-samah* or 'like an emperor', gives the titles '*Mahāmaṇḍal-ādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*' to Śatrubhañjadēva, and calls him the lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). This is also an indication of the power and independence of the Bhañja kings of this group.

As to the period when these kings flourished we have two specific dates of Raṇabhañja, viz., Śaṁvat 288 (No. 1) and Śaṁvat 293¹ (No. 6). The era to which these dates are to be referred is not easy to determine. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar held that the alphabets of the records could not be earlier than the tenth century A.D., and referred the year 288 to the Gāṅga Era, which began according to him in 778 A.D.² This view was accepted by Mr. R. D. Banerji³ and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta.⁴ Many scholars, however, now hold that the epoch of the Gāṅga Era is to be placed in the sixth century A.D. or at the close of the fifth century A.D.⁵ Accordingly, king Raṇabhañja has to be placed towards the close of the eighth or in the ninth century A.D. Mr. Binayak Misra refers the date to the Harsha Era.⁶ That would place Raṇabhañja towards the close of the ninth century A.D. The palaeographic evidence, as noted above, does not militate against this view.⁷

Assuming that the Harsha era was used, the date of the present Grant would be A.D. 899, and Raṇabhañja must have been on the throne during the years 894-899 A.D. The rule of the Bhañja dynasty of Mayūrbhanj from Kōṭṭabhañja to Narēndrabhañja II may thus be placed between 850 and 950 A.D.

Utkala or Orissa was conquered by Dēvapāla in the first half of the ninth century A.D. This must have brought about the political disintegration of the kingdom, and as soon as the Pāla power was weakened by the middle of the ninth century A.D., local feudal chiefs found a good opportunity to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves. The rise of the Bhañja family to power may be explained in this way.

The Capital of these kings was undoubtedly Khijjiṅga, modern Khiching (situated about ninety miles to the west of Bāripadā the present Capital of Mayūrbhanj) which contains extensive ruins and has yielded a large number of fine medieval sculptures. All the Grants, except Nos. 5 and 8, refer to Khijjiṅga as the place of residence of the king. The village granted in No. 5 is situated in Urti-vishaya, and this district, according to the present Grant, was included in

¹ The numerical symbol used to denote 200 is 'lu'. Kielhorn, in his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, expressed a doubt about the correctness of this interpretation (Above, Vol. V, App. p. 88, n. 6). Bühler's chart, however, gives the value 200 for the symbol (Pl. IX, Col. XVIII). Subsequently, Kielhorn also changed his view and took the symbol as denoting 200 (Above, Vol. VI, p. 134). This is now generally accepted (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 181).

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁴ *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, p. 245.

⁵ *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 171 ff.; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272-4; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI (1932), p. 237.

⁶ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII, p. 427. Mr. Misra says that this was also the view of Kielhorn. He does not, however, give any reference, and I cannot find any in support of this statement.

⁷ Bühler in his *Palaeographic Chart* places the alphabet of the Bāmanghāṭi Ins. of Raṇabhañja in the 9th century A.D. (Plato IX, Col. XVIII.)

Khijjiṅga (*Khijjiṅga-pratibaddha*). The villages granted by the records seem to indicate the kingdom of this group of Bhañja kings corresponded roughly to the present states of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar which are still ruled by chiefs bearing names ending in Bhañja. The Mayūrabhañja undoubtedly preserves the tradition that the Bhañja family originated from the egg of a *mayūri* (pea-hen), and the legends that the ancestor was born out of an egg of a pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaśiṣṭha are to be found in the records of the present ruling family. It is, therefore, very probable that the present Bhañja chiefs are descended from the group of Bhañja kings referred to above.

An attempt has been made to connect this Bhañja family with the famous Maurya and even to identify Virabhadra, the traditional founder of the family, with the Maurya emperor Chandragupta. The suggestion which rests mainly on the following grounds was first made by Mr. B. Misra while editing No. 5² (re-edited below as C.).

1. The *Mayūra*-origin of the family really indicates an association with the Moriya or Moriya being the Prākṛit form of *Mayūra*.³

2. According to the Pāli *Mahāvagga*, the dominion of Bimbisāra embraced 80,000 towns. It is needless to say that the same dominion was included in the empire of Chandragupta. Evidently the lordship of Virabhadra over 88,000 villages (as recorded in No. 5) has some similarity with that of Chandragupta.

3. *Gaṇadaṇḍa*, the epithet of Virabhadra, means Republican Chief and signifies one whose army consisted of individuals combined for a definite object. If taken in this sense, Virabhadra may be supposed to have raised an army as Chandragupta did to overthrow the Nanda dynasty.

The arguments are wholly unconvincing. As regards the first, it refers merely to a traditional conception, and we need not necessarily find any historical allusion in it unless there are valid grounds for doing so. As regards the second, the inference rests palpably on a very weak foundation. As to the third, *Gaṇadaṇḍa* has been interpreted by Rai Bahadur Hiralal as an officer of some *Gaṇa* or Hindu Republic. He takes it to be an abbreviated form of *Gaṇadāyaka* or *Gaṇa-daṇḍapāla*, i.e., either a minister or a commander of army.⁴ There is no justification for going further beyond this.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription other than Khijjiṅga, *Kōṭyāśrama*, a reputed hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha where Virabhadra was born, has been identified with Kuntal, thirty-two miles from Bāripadā.⁵ *Urtti-rishaya* may be identified with a village called Urtti in the Keonjhar State, about twelve miles to the north-west of Khiching, on the right bank of the river Vaitaraṇī. There is a village called Sorai near Urtti,⁶ and this may represent either of two villages, *Bṛihat-Sārāi* and *Svalpa-Sarāyi* mentioned in the Grant. It is not also impossible that both the names referred to two parts of the same village distinguished by the prefix *bṛihat* and *svalpa* (i.e., big and small) and that this entire village is now represented by Sorai.

¹ While recently visiting the Museum at Bāripadā, I noticed the following documents: (1) Copy of a grant by Mahārāja Viravikramāditya Bhañja in 1121 A.D. (i.e., 1713-14 A.D.) in which the ancestor of the royal family is said to have been born of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaśiṣṭha. (2) A letter of the ruler of Talcher addressed to Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa Bhañja, ruler of Mayūrbhanj (1660 A.D.) containing reference to the same legends. Upendra Bhañja, the famous poet of Orissa, who flourished about the end of the seventeenth century A.D., refers to these legends in respect of the kings of Mayūrbhanj.

² *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 420 ff.

³ [It may be pointed out that *mora* is the Pkt. form of *mayūra* and *Moriya* that of *Maurya*.—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 289.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 300. But Mr. P. Acharya, the archaeologist of the Mayūrbhanj State, rejects

identification on the ground that there are no remains of antiquities in the place.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist of Mayūrbhanj, for the information about the discovery of Plates A and B and for the identification of villages mentioned in them.

The fact that the villages are situated on the right bank of the Vaitaraṇī river, in the State of Keonjhar, is of great importance, as it proves that at least a part, if not the whole, of this state was included within the dominions of the Bhañjas of Mayūrbhanj in the ninth or tenth century A.D. This in a way lends some support to the local tradition recorded by Hunter that Keonjhar originally formed part of Mayūrbhanj and was formed into a separate state about two centuries ago.¹

The two copper-plates (Nos. 6 and 7) now edited being clearly engraved, enable us to correct some mistakes and remove some doubts about the reading and interpretation of the records of this group of Bhañja kings. MM. H. P. Śāstri, while editing the Khaṇḍadēuli plate claimed to have corrected some mistakes. "For instance," observed he, "my predecessors read *Kōṭyāśrama*, but my plate distinctly says *Kautsāśrama*. They read the same word *Suladaṇḍa* in one plate and *Svarṇadaṇḍa* in another, but it is really *Galad-aṇḍa*, the *breaking egg*". The present records confirm the reading *Kōṭyāśrama* and show beyond doubt that the other word is really *Gaṇa-daṇḍa*, which also seems to be quite clear on the estampage of the Khaṇḍadēuli Inscription. In the three published records the adjective '*Khijjīṅga-Kōṭavāsī*' is applied to Raṇabhañja and it has been taken to mean that the king was usually resident in Khijjīṅga. The corresponding expression in the present records is *Khijjīṅga-kōṭ-ādhivāsī* meaning that the Grant was issued from Khijjīṅga. This is the more usual expression used in land-grants, and there is hardly any doubt that it was the original form which was misconstrued in others.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 6, *Āryā* ; v. 5, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 7-9, *Anushubh* ; v. 10, *Drutavilambita* ; v. 11, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse.

- 1 Ōm² svasti [||*] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō
- 2 bhava-bhaya-bhidurō Bhavō Bhavāni(nī)śaḥ | vividha-samādhi-vi-
- 3 dhijñāḥ sarvvajñō vaḥ Śivāy=āstu || [1||*] ³Āśi(sī)t=Kōṭyāśrama-ma-
- 4 hā-tapōvanāt=māyūr-aṇḍam bhit[t*]vā Gaṇa-daṇḍa-Virabhadra-ākhyāḥ [1*]
- 5 pratipaksha-nidhana-dakṣhō Vaśiṣṭha-muni-pālitō nṛipa-
- 6 tiḥ || [2||*] Tasy=Ādi-Bhañja-vaṇ(vaṇ)śō mānīs⁴=tyāgī⁵=adaṇḍakāḥ khyā-
- 7 taḥ [1*] sūrah śuchir=vvintō [⁶jāta[h*] śrī-Kōṭ(ṭ)abhañj=ēti || [3||*] Pu-
- 8 tras=tad-ānurūpa⁷ [⁸śrēṣṭhaḥ śrīmān=maśakṣa⁹-sūmantah [1*] nṛi-
- 9 pati-śat-ārchchita-charaṇō śrī⁹-Vibhramatungō jagat-prathi-
- 10 taḥ || [4||*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ Śma(Sma)ra-samō va(ba)lavān=varishṭhaḥ sūrah
- 11 [samuna]nta¹⁰.yaśāḥ pravijitya śatrūh(n) | rājā Yudhisthira

¹ Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. II, App. III, p. 86.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ In this verso the words *Kōṭyāśrama-mahā-tapōvanāt* must be left out in order to suit the metre. Read *Āśi=māyūr-aṇḍam* etc.

⁴ Read *mānī*.

⁵ Read *tyāgī*.

⁶ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

⁷ Read =*tad-ānurūpaḥ*.

⁸ This is probably a mistake for *asaṅkhyā*.

⁹ Omit *śrī* as in B for the sake of the metre.

¹⁰ Read *samunnata* as in B below.

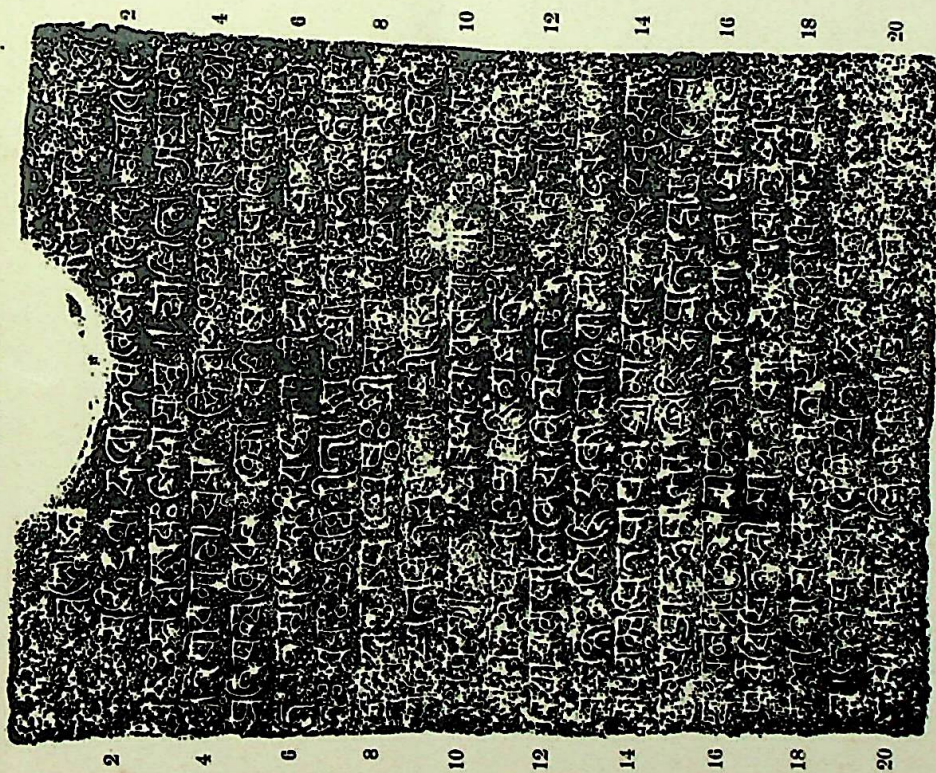
- 12 riv-āvanī¹-pālānē cha² nityam rataḥ kuśala-karma-vidhau
 13 praśa(sa)ktaḥ [||5||*] Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhivāsāt³ Hara-charaṇ-ā-
 14 rādhana-kshapitā-pāpaḥ | śrīmān-Narēndrabhañja-dēvaḥ⁴ s-ā-
 15 nunayam prāha bhūpālām(lān) | [6||*] Khijjīṅga-prativaddhō(baddha) Urtti-vā-
 16 ya-saṁmandha⁵. Vṛi(Bṛi)hat-Sārāi-grām-ābhidhānō⁶ grāmō-yaṁ
 17 pu(pū)rvva - vidita-sīmāntaḥ⁷ Vāvbi⁸-charaṇāya⁹ Aślāya-
 18 na¹⁰-śākhāya¹¹ Vachcha¹²-gōtrāya¹³ pañchā-rirshaya¹⁴-pravarā-
 19 ya¹⁵ Tilapudraka-vinigrata¹⁶ bhaṭṭaputra-Śi(Śi)tala[dēva]-
 20 [śa]rmaṇāya¹⁷ śa(sa)lila-dhārā[m*] puraskṛity-ākarakatvē[na vā]

Reverse.

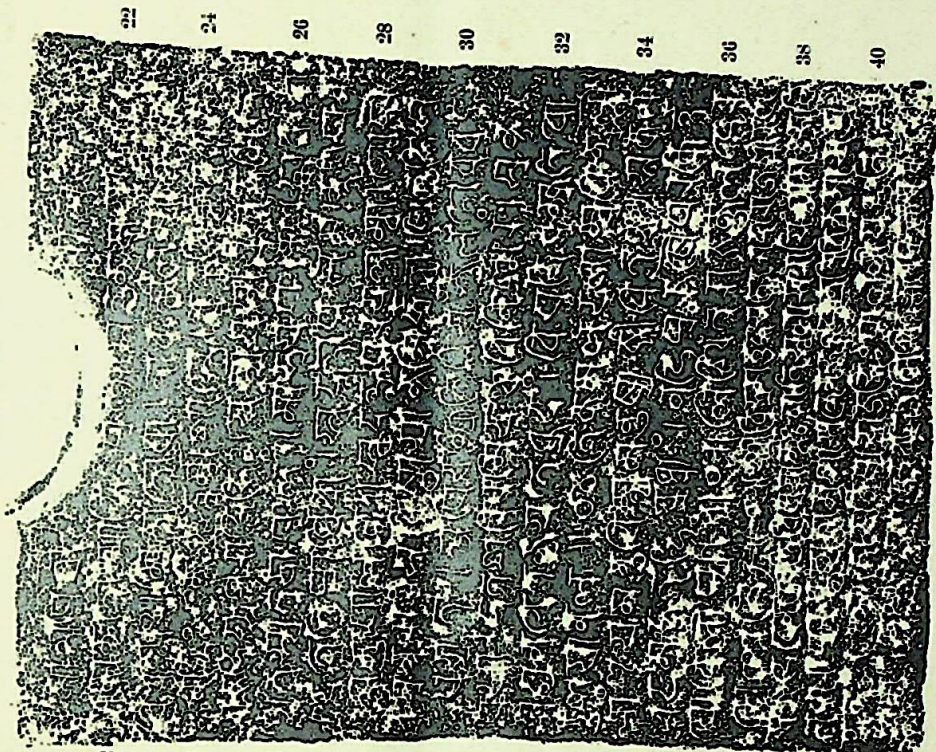
- 21 ..[māttā(tā)]-pitṛōr-ātmana
 22ndatō=smābhiḥ puṇyasētun=dadāya¹⁸ [*] yāvat-pri-
 23 [thvī]dharima-dākshinya(nya)tō vā | tūvat=kālam=pālā(nīyō)
 24 bhavadbhiḥ [||*] uktañ=cha ddharma¹⁹-śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattī
 25 rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmī[s*]=ta-
 26 sya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [7||*] Mā bhūya phala-śānkā vaḥ para-
 27 dat=ēti pāṛthivām | svadattā phalam=āntam para-
 28 datt-ānupālānē²⁰ || [8||*] Sva-datta para-dattām=vā²¹ yō harēti
 29 vasundharām²² | sa viśvāyām kṛimīr-bhūtvā²³ pitṛibhiḥ sa-
 30 ha pachyatē || [9||*] api cha[||*] Kshitir-iyam kulaḥ=ēva va(ba)hu-
 31 priyā²⁴ hata-śari(rī)ram-idañ=cha vini(na)śma(śva)ram(ram) | su-kṛi(tam)
 32 adya na chēta²⁵ kṛi(kri)yatē dhruvam²⁶ vipadi dhakshyati vō=
 33 nuśay-ānalāḥ || [10||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-vindu-llō-
 34 lām²⁷ śri(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-jivitañ=cha | sakala-
 35 m-idam=uddhṛitadbhi²⁸ vudhvām²⁹ na hi purushai[h*] para-ki(kī)rtta-
 36 yō vilōpyām(pyāḥ) || o || [11||*] Likhitaṁ Rājakula-Hēra-
 37 mvē(mbē)ṇ=ēti || o || Śrī-Vibhramatūṅga-sutēna Mahārāja-śrī-Rapa-

¹ Read *iv=āvani*.² *Danḍa* unnecessary.³ The *danḍa* is unnecessary; to suit the metre we have to read *kōṭṭa-vāsād=Dhara*, or *Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭa* in other inscriptions.⁴ Omit *dēva* for the sake of the metre.⁵ Read *sambaddha*.⁶ Read *Bahvricha*.⁷ Read *Aśvalāyana*.⁸ Read *Vatva*.⁹ Read *Pañcharshi*.¹⁰ Read *vinirgata*.¹¹ Read *-śarmamāṇē*.¹² Perhaps the correct reading is *dattō=smābhiḥ puṇya-sēt-ūdayāya*. [The text from *mālā* to *bhava* seems to form a verse in *Śālini* metre.—Ed.]¹³ Read *dharmma*.¹⁴ Read *Mā bhūd=aphala-lānkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pāṛthivāḥ | sva-dattā=phalam=ānantyam para-datt=**lānē* ||¹⁵ Read *Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēti vasundharām*.¹⁶ Read *sukṛitam=adya na chē*.¹⁷ Read *Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-bindu-lōlām*.¹⁸ Read *udāhṛitā=cha*.¹⁹ Read *buddhvā*.

Obverse.



Reverse.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI
 Rec. No. 1966 E/39-275.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

38 bhañja-dēvēna Uratti-vishay-āntaḥpāti - Svalpa-Sarāyi-grāmaḥ sali-
 39 la-dhārā[m*] puraskṛitya tāmra-śāsanēna bhaṭṭaputra-Trivikramāya pra-
 40 dattaḥ āto¹ bhaviṣyad-rājabhīḥ pālaniya iti []
 41 Samvat 200 90 3 Phālguṇa va di 1 likhitam kulaputraka-[Yaksha.....]²

TRANSLATION.

Om svasti. (Verse 1) May the omniscient Bhava (Śiva), who is the sole protector of all the worlds, the destroyer of the fear of re-birth, the lord of Bhavāni, and conversant with the rules of the various modes of meditation,—bring you prosperity.

(V. 2) There was a king called Gaṇaḍaṇḍa (an officer in a republic ?) Virabhadra, skilful in killing enemies, who burst out of an egg of a pea-hen in the great hermitage, called Kōṭyāśrama, and was brought up by the sage Vaśiṣṭha.

(V. 3) In the family of this first Bhañja (*king*) was born śrī-Kōṭṭabhañja, who was highly honoured, liberal, famous, brave, pure, and modest, and was averse to inflicting punishment (*adaṇḍaka*).

(V. 4) Then there was his worthy son śrī-Vibhramatuṅga, who was famous in the world, most excellent, and endowed with beauty; who had numerous feudatories, and whose feet were worshipped by hundreds of kings.

(Vv. 5-6) His son śrīmān Narēndrabhañjadēva—who was like cupid (*in appearance*), strong, weighty, and brave; who had acquired fame by defeating enemies; who, like king Yudhiṣṭhira, was constantly engaged in protecting the earth, and was extremely fond of performing good deeds; and whose sins were expiated by the worship of the feet of Hara;—from his residence at the fort of Khijjiṅga says respectfully to the kings:

(Ll. 15-21) (*There is*) a village called Brīhat-Sārāi, in the district (*vishaya*) of Urtti, situated close to the city of Khijjiṅga. This village, the boundaries of which are already known, is granted by me, free of rent, for the sake of (the religious merits of) my mother, father, and myself, with libations of water, to Bhaṭṭaputra Śitaladēvaśarman an emigrant from Tilapudraka and belonging to Bahvṛicha-charaṇa, Āśvalāyana-śākhā, Vatsa-gūtra, and having the five *ṛishis* as his *pravaras* (or the noble ancestors).

(Ll. 22-35 contain the usual imprecations.)

(L. 36) Written by the Rājakula Hēramba.

(Ll. 37-40) By Mahārāja-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēva, son of śrī-Vibhramatuṅga, the village of Svalpa-Sarāyi in the district (*vishaya*) of Uratti has been granted to Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama, after sprinkling water and by a copper-plate deed. So this should be upheld by the future kings.

(L. 41) The year 200 (and) 90 (and) 3; (*the month*) Phālguṇa; the dark fortnight; (*the lunar*) day 1.

Written by Kulaputraka Yaksha.

B.—Ādipur Copper-plate of Narēndrabhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring about 10·6" by 8·8". It contains 38 lines of writing engraved on both sides. The engraver at first deliberately left a margin of about 3 inches at the top on the reverse side, but later, as the inscription could not be contained in the remaining part, he engraved the concluding portion in this space with the letters written in an opposite direction. This is a very natural and common method in letter-writing of the present day, but seems to be

¹ Read *atō*.

² [There seem to be only two letters at the end; the reading may, therefore, be *Yakshēti*.—Ed.]

rather unusual in respect of engraving copper-plates. The original plate contained a circular projection at the middle of the top, and to this was later soldered a circular seal with a diameter of about 3". It bears the legend "*Śrīmān=Varī(rē)ndyabhañjadēasya*" in a single line. Above the legend are the figures of a crescent with a conch below, and underneath it is the figure of a humped bull above a floral design, resembling those in the Plate A noticed above. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round. A portion of the back of the seal had been cut away, as otherwise some letters, already engraved on the reverse of the plate, would have been hidden by it. This is an important and interesting point. For, as in Plate A, this portion of the plate contains, like a post-script, a short record about the donation of king Raṇabhañja. It is obvious that it was not a later addition, but was already engraved before the royal seal was attached.

The plate was found in the possession of one Sira Dās of the Ādipur village, the same person from whom Plate A was obtained. According to the statement of Sira Dās it was found some eighty years ago, and kept concealed in a house which was washed away by the flood of 1874 and hence abandoned. It was again brought to light some six years ago while digging the earth in that deserted plot. The plate is now in the Museum at Bāripadā. The Curator of the Museum, Mr. P. Acharya, who supplied me with the above account, kindly gave me the plate on loan, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except that a small portion of the edge, on both sides along the length of the plate has been corroded, with the result that some letters at the beginning and the end of a number of lines have been rendered indistinct or altogether effaced.

The language is Sanskrit and the alphabet closely resembles that used in Inscription A. As a matter of fact the record is a close copy of that record with a few modifications. The only important additions are : (1) some additional conventional concessions in the formal portion of the grant (ll. 16-17), and (2) one additional imprecatory verse (ll. 29-30). These are, however, well known phrases and occur in other Orissa records and the verse occurs in another grant of this family (cf. C below).

The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor, though he has avoided some of the glaring mistakes of A. As the errors and orthographic peculiarities in the two records are very similar, these need not be noticed in detail.

The inscription records the grant of the village Śarapadraka in the Kōrakēra-vishaya to the king Narāndrabhañja whose genealogy is given in the same words as in A. The donee, whose name I doubtfully read as Bhaṭṭa Dēvadēvadāma¹, migrated from Ōdra-vishaya and was evidently associated (in a manner which is not quite clear) with the village Rāmaparkaṭi in the Khijjīṅga-maṇḍala². The grant was made on the day on which the summer solstice began (Ravisankramana-vilāyām). The second record, at the end, refers to the grant of a village by Raṇabhañja. The name of the village may be doubtfully read as Pādēvā, but there may be another letter at the beginning.

Of these localities Kōrakēra is still the name of a village in Ghoshdāpir in Ādipur Pargana, situated about twelve miles to the South-South-East of Khiching. It is shown as Kerkera in the Indian Sheet Atlas (Scale 1"=4 miles, sheet 73 G). Near by is a village called Soras in the same sheet and this may be the same as Śarapadraka. The village called Saradaha in Karanjia Pargana may also be the modern representative of Śarapadraka. Rāmaparkaṭi may be identified with the village called Ramasahi in Kiapir in Joshipur Pargana. I am unable to identify Pādēvā.

¹ [See p. 160, n. 10 below.—Ed.]

² [To me it appears that the donee was a resident of the village Rāmaparkaṭi in Khijjīṅga-maṇḍala and he originally hailed from Ālāvedraha, a Brahmin village (? Bhaṭṭa-grāma) in the Ōdra-vishaya.—Ed.]

mention of *Ōdra-nishaya* is very interesting, showing that the name which was afterwards applied to the whole province was as yet confined only to a small region and originally denoted only a small district.

The history of *Narēndrabhañja* and his predecessors has already been discussed. As noted above, the inscription also records, at the end, the grant of a village by *Bhañja Mahārāja-Raṇa-bhañja*. The word immediately preceding this seems to be clearly *naplā* or grandson. Unfortunately, the word of three letters before *naplā*, although very clearly engraved, cannot be read with certainty. The first and third letters are 'ā' and 'va', but the letter in the middle is a peculiar one, and looks like *sai* or *stai*, none of which, however, gives any sense. In any case, for the present, *Raṇabhañja* of this short record must be identified with king *Raṇabhañja*, a similar short record of whom is engraved at the end of Plate A. It is very curious that a short record of this king was in both these instances added as a sort of post-script to the record of *Narēndrabhañja*. In the present case, at any rate, we are tolerably certain, by the position of the last few letters of the plate in respect of the back part of the seal, that the whole record was engraved before the seal was attached, i.e., during the reign of king *Narēndrabhañja*. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that *Raṇabhañja* was a predecessor of *Narēndrabhañja*, and an earlier grant made by him, perhaps to the same donee or to his family, was repeated in brief at the end at the latter's request, so that the same plate might serve him as a charter for both the grants.¹

One peculiarity in the text of this grant requires special mention. In all the copper-plate grants of this family of kings, the word *kuśali* or *kuśalinaḥ*, generally added as an adjective of the king in the prose portion, immediately after his proper name, is omitted, and in most of them the words *s-ānunayaṁ prāha bhūpālān* take the place of the usual verbs *mānayati bōdhayati samādīśati*. In the present grant we have all these three combined, with the exception only of *samādīśati*.

Attention may be drawn to the expression '*Śiva-charaṇa-sarōja-shatpada*' (l. 13) used with reference to *Narēndrabhañja*. The corresponding expression in A is '*Hara-charaṇ-ārādhanakṣhapita-pāpaḥ*' (ll. 13-14). These prove that king *Narēndrabhañja* was a devoted worshipper of Śiva. The invocation to Śiva at the beginning also shows that the family was Śaiva. The discoveries at Khiching fully corroborate this. The finest image unearthed from the ruins at Khiching is that of a standing Śiva which was no doubt installed in the main temple whose magnificent ruins have been laid bare by recent excavations.

TEXT.

[The metres are noted above in connection with A, but the verses 2 and 3 are defective as some words have been left out as pointed out in the footnotes.]

Obverse.

- 1 Svasti [||*]
- 2 Ōm² namō Avighnēśvarāyaḥ³ || Sakala-bhuvan=aika-nā-
- 3 thō bhava-bhaya-bhidurō Bhavō Bhavān(nī)śaḥ [||*] vividha-samādhi-vi-

¹ [It is difficult to believe that *Raṇabhañja* of the postscript grants in A and B was a predecessor of *Narēndrabhañja*. It is not impossible that a portion of the back of the seal of B had to be cut away to make room for the last line of the subsidiary record for which no other space was available. In ll. 36-37 B clearly states that the subsidiary grant was inserted in the original grant (*ēlasmian-ēva śāsanē prakṣipya*). The duct of writing in these additional grants is quite different from that of the original grants. The writer in the two additional grants appears to be the same person, viz., *Yakṣhadatta* and the donor is also the same *Raṇabhañja* in both. The reading in l. 35 of B is *āsaiva naptrā*. If *āsaiva* stands for *asy=aiva*, the person referred to must be the first ruler mentioned in the original grant, i.e., *Kōṭṭabhañja* whose grandson *Raṇabhañja* was.—Ed.]

² There is a symbol preceding *Ōm*.

³ Read *namō= vighnēśvarāya*.

- 4 dhiñō(jñah) sarvajñō vah śivāy=āstu || [1||*] Āśi(sī)t-Kōṭyāśrama-
 5 mahātapōvanān¹=māyūr-āṇḍam bhitvā² Gaṇa-daṇḍa-Vīrabhadra-ākhyā[h*] [1*]
 6 kṣa³ -nidhana-dakṣhō Vasishṭha-muni-pālītō nripatī[h*] | [12||*] Tasy=Ādi-Bharh-
 7 ja-vanśē(vanśē) māni(nī) tyāgi(gī) adanḍaka[h*] khāta(khyātaḥ) [1*] jātō(taḥ)⁴ śrī-Kōṭy-
 bharhājō-pi || [3 ||*]
 8 Putras=tad=ānurūpāḥ śrēṣṭhāḥ śrīmān=asañkṣha(sañkhyā)-sāmantaḥ | nripatī-śa-
 9 t-ārchchita-charaṇō Vibhramatuṅgō jagat-prathitāḥ || [4 ||*] Tasy=ātmajāḥ
 10 Smara-samō va(ba)lavān=vari(ri)śbṭhāḥ śūrah samunnata-yaśā yudhi ni-
 11 rjīti-āriḥ⁵ | rājā Yudhiṣṭhira iv=āvanī-pālānē cha nityam rataḥ
 12 kuśala-karma-vidhau praśa(sa)ktāḥ || [5 ||*] Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhivāsakāt [1*]
 13 Āśi(sī)-dhār-ārijjita-kīrttiḥ Śiva-charaṇa-sarōja-shaṭpadaḥ śrī[mā-
 14 n] | ripu-vanītā-vaidhavya-da-Narēndrabhañja-kuśali(hī) jagata(t)-khyā[taḥ ||*]
 15 sānūyām prā[ba*] bhūpālān yath-ārham mānayati vō(bō)dha[ya]ti Kērakē-
 16 ra-vishaya-pratīva(ba)[ddha]-Śarapadraka-grāmaś=chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantaḥ ś-ō-
 17 pari(n)kara-s-ōd(dd)ēsa-sa-tantravāya-gō-kūṭa-śaunḍī(ṇḍī)k-ādī(di)kaṁ prā-
 18 [kri]tika-sarvva-pīdā-varjīti-ālēkhani(nī)-pravēśatayā bhūmi(mi)chchhi(chchhi)dr-ā-

Reverse.

- 19 pi(bhi)dh[ā]na-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārka-kṣhiti-sama-ka(kū)la[m*] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaḥ [1*]
 20 śaḥ-puṇy-ābhividdha[ye] | Ōdra-vishayē Bhaṭṭagrāma Āllavida . . .
 21 virgataḥ Khijjīṅga-maṇḍalasya Rāmaparkaṭi-grāma-śāsa . . .
 22 Vyavbhṛicha-charaṇāya⁶ Vatsa-gōtra-pañchārshaya⁷-Ya(Ja)madagni(gni)-pravara(rāya)
 bhaṭṭa-
 23 D[ō*]vadēvadāma(h)¹⁰ bhaṭṭa-[Vaḍḍha]kā¹¹dāma-suta(sutāya) Ravisañkramaṇ-
 vēlāyām
 24 hast-ōdakēna tāmra-śāsanikṛity=ākahaya-ni(nī)vi-dharmmēṇ=ākaratvē-
 25 na pratipāditō=smābhīḥ || tad=ēś(sh)=āsmad-[d*]attir=ddharmma-gauravād=bha-
 26 vadbhīḥ paripālani(nī)ya | uktañ=cha dharmma-sā(śā)strē [1*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā d-
 27 ttā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā
 28 phalam(lam) | [6 ||*] Mā bhūḥ(bhūd=a)phala-śānkā va[h*] para-datt=ēti pāṭhiv-
 sva-dattāt phalam =ā-
 29 nantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālānē | [7 ||*] Sva-dattā[m] para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) |¹² yō bha-

¹ To suit the metre omit *Kōṭyāśrama-mahātapōvanān*= as in A.
² Read *bhitvā*. There is a sign after this which is redundant.

³ Read *pratipakṣha* as in A, the first three syllables of which have obviously been dropped through mistake in this record.

⁴ The words *śūrah śuchir=vinītō* occurring in A have been left out before *jātō(taḥ)* through inadvertence.
⁵ A has *pravijitya śatrūm(n)*.

⁶ This seems to be a verse in *Giti* metre.

⁷ [To me the reading appears to be *Āllavadraka-vinirgataḥ(tāya)*.—Ed.]

⁸ Read *Bahvṛicha*. [Reading after *grāma* seems to be *śāsa-vāstavya-Va(Ba)hvṛicha*. *Śāsa* may be mistake for *śāsana* in which case *Rāmaparkaṭi*, the residence of the donee, would be an *agrahāra* or a village.—Ed.]

⁹ Read *pañcharahi* or *pañch-ārshēya*.

¹⁰ [I think the name of the donee is *Dēvadāman*. The syllables *Dava* at the beginning of the line seem to have been wrongly written and may be considered superfluous. Read *Dēvadāmnē*.—Ed.]

¹¹ The reading of this name is very doubtful.

¹² *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

- 30 sa viṣṭhāyāṁ kṛimī[r*]=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē | [18 ||*] Haratē hāratē(yēd)
bhūmih [manda]-
- 31 [bu*][ddhi][s*]=tamā(mō)vṛitō(ṭaḥ) [1*] sa va(ba)ddhō vāruṇī-[pā*]śā=ēva tṛigayyōnī
shu' jāyatē | [19 ||*] Iti ka-
- 32 mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlāṁ śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-[jīvitāṁ=cha] [1*]
33 [saka]lam=idam=udāhṛitāṁ=cha 1² vuddhā(buddhvā) na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrttayō³
vilō-
- 34 pyāḥ || [10 ||*] Iti(ti) tāmbra'-śāsana-vitāpi-bhāṇḍa kārīyāḥ ||
- 35 Om⁴ svasti [1*] āsaiva' [na]ptā Bhañja-mahārāja-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvēna
- 36 Pādēvā⁵-grāmaś=chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantaḥ ūtasma(smi)nn=ēva tāmbra-śāsa-
- 37 nē prakṣipya salila-dhārā-puraḥsarēṇa pratipāditō bhavadbhiḥ
- 38 paripālaniyāḥ | khanitaṁ Yakṣhadattēn=ēti ||

C.—Kēsari Copper-plate of Śatrubhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ". It contains twenty-four lines of writing engraved on both sides. A circular seal, a little more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate on its longer side. It contains one line of legend with the figure of a couchant bull below, and there are figures of a trident and a crescent respectively on the upper right and upper left of the bull. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round.

The record was first published with a text and English translation by Mr. Binayak Misra in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 429 f. and 431. According to him, it was discovered by a Ho servant of Arjun Giri at Kēsari, 10 miles north-west of Khiching. The plate is now in the Bāripadā Museum. I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya for having kindly lent the original plate for re-editing it.

The plate is in a good state of preservation. The alphabet belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in Plates A and B edited above. The language is Sanskrit. As regards metre, orthography, and the author's knowledge of Sanskrit, the remarks made in connection with Plate A apply equally well in this case, and detailed notices are unnecessary.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Syallāmāyī in the Urtti district by Mahā-maṇḍalādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Śatrubhañjadēva, lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). He was the son of Raṇabhañja, grandson of Durjayabhañja, and great-grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja. Reference is made to Virabhadra's birth, as in Plates A and B. Some additional information is, however, given about this Virabhadra in ll. 3-5 which is not to be found in the other records of the family. The exact meaning of the passage is obscure, as the grammatical construction seems to be faulty. It begins with a reference to Virabhadra's eighty-eight thousand sons (and not sages as interpreted by Mr. Misra). What follows seems to indicate that on account of the prayer of these sons Virabhadra was protected (sēvitaḥ) by Rāmadēva and made lord of eighty-eight thousand villages.⁶ Rāmadēva is no doubt the god Rāma. The phrase 'Rāmadēvēna

¹ Read vāruṇaiḥ pāśaiḥ=tiryag-yōnīshu.

² Daṇḍa unnecessary.

³ There is a superfluous na after yō.

⁴ Read tāmbra.

⁵ The reading of the word is very doubtful. The word vitāpi-bhāṇḍa can be clearly read but offers no meaning. There is a letter ka written just below the space between the last two letters.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ The second letter looks like sai but the word offers no meaning. [See above, p. 159, n. 1.—Ed.]

⁸ A letter may have been effaced at the beginning of this line.

⁹ [According to my reading only one son, who was protected by Rāmadēva, seems to have been favoured with this gift. See p. 162 n. 13 below.—Ed.]

sēvitaḥ 'can therefore be hardly interpreted as 'served by Rāmadēva' as translated by Mr. X. According to the dictionary, the root 'sēv' also means 'to protect,' and I have taken that interpretation. The word '*vyāpitaḥ*' is also a difficult one. I think *v* is a mistake for *ā* (it resembles it very closely) and the word '*dhyāpitaḥ*' has been used to indicate that the eighty-thousand sons were made to perform meditations (*dhyāna*) in order to please Rāmadēva and the boon from him.

The very important and far-reaching conclusions of Mr. Misra based on the above data already discussed above.¹ The only other information of historical character supplied by the record is the mention of two members of the royal family viz., *Anakadēvī* (perhaps a queen for *Anakadēvī*), the chief queen, and *Narēndrabhañja*, the *Yuvarāja* (ll. 12-13), and a number of officers (ll. 13-14).

Attention may be drawn to the expression *Bhagavad-bhañṭāraka-Saṅkaram samuddiṣṭa* occurring in ll. 14-15. The reference may be to the great Saṅkarāchārya in whose honour the temple was made, though it is possible to take it in the ordinary sense to refer to God Śiva. In the latter case, however, the form ordinarily met with, is '*Bhagavat-Śiva* [*Nārāyaṇa* or *Buddha*]-*bhañṭāraka*.'

As to the localities mentioned, *Urtti-vishaya* has been discussed above. I am unable to identify the village *Syallāmāyī*. Mr. Misra reads the name of the village as '*Syallāmāyī*' remarking in a footnote that '*sya*' is unnecessary. I do not see any reason to uphold this.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 Ōm¹ svastiḥ² [I*] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō bhava-bhaya-vi(bhi)durō Bhavō Bhū-
(nī)śa[h] [I*] vivi-
- 2 dha-samādhi³-samādhi-vi[dbi*]jñāḥ sarvva⁴jñō vaḥ si(śi)vāy=āstu || [I*] Āśita(sit)⁵ E
śrama(mō) nā[ma]⁶
- 3 tapō-dhishṭhānam=uttamam⁷ [I*] mayūr-āṇḍ-ōdbhava[s*]=tasmāta(d=) gaṇa-danḍō W
rabhadra-ākhyah⁸ [II 2 I*] Aṣṭāśi-
- 4 ti-sahasrai[h*] sūnubhi[h*] vyāpitaḥ⁹ purā [I*] tēshān=tu prū[r]thanām dṛishṭvā E
dēvēna sēvitas(tah) [II 3 I*] Tatō=¹⁰
- 5 sbṭāśiti-sahasra¹¹-grāmasy=ādhipatiḥ kṛitaḥ [I*] chakravi(va)[r]tti¹²-sama(mah) sarv-
nācha vasthiṭi¹³ [II 14 I*]

¹ See p. 154 above.

² Read *svasti*.

³ The second *samādhi* is redundant.

⁴ M. reads *sarva* (M. denotes Mr. Binayak Misra).

⁵ M. reads *āśit*, but the word actually engraved is *āśita*.

⁶ M. reads *Kōpāśrama-mahā*.

⁷ M. reads *uttamam*.

⁸ There is no sign of medial *r* on *v* as M. reads.

⁹ This *pāda* conforms to the fourth *pāda* of an *Aryā* metre. This is apparently due to its being copied from the other records.

¹⁰ M. reads *sahasra=tu nu[ni*]jñāḥ*. [I would read *-sahasra=tu* [sū*]nubhi[r=].—Ed.]

¹¹ M. reads *vyāpitaḥ*.

¹² [To me the reading appears to be *sēvita(tah)* [I*] *Sutō*.—Ed.]

¹³ [Read *-sahasra* as the sixth syllable in this *pāda* should be long.—Ed.]

¹⁴ M. reads *sarvō pādōnāchanasthitaḥ*. Perhaps the word intended is *sarv-ōpādānān=ch=āsthiḥ* this would make the *pāda* short by one syllable.—Ed.]

**SRI JAGADGURU VISHWARADHYA
JNANA SINHASAN JNANAMANDIR
LIBRARY.**

Jangamwadi Math, VARANASI,

Acc. No.

- 6 pratipaksha-nidhana-dakshō Vasi(śi)shṭha-mu[ni*]-pālītō nripatīh 1^a. A²(Ā)dibhañjaḥ
ripu-dahana³-dā-
- 7 vānalaḥ | śaraśvatirvvinittō⁴ jātaḥ | Śrī-Kōṭṭabhañja-suta-māṇḍalika-sa(śa)t-ārchchita-
charu-
- 8 ṇa-kamalaḥ | śrī-Dū(Du)rjayabhañjadēvō=bbūta(t) [1] tasy=ātmajaḥ su(śu)chīh pratāpi(pī)
k[rī]tajūaḥ satya-
- 9 vādī⁵ Hara-charaṇ-ā[rā*]dhana-tatparaḥ guru-dēva-pūjakaḥ śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvō=
'bbūta(t) tasy=ā-
- 10 tmajaḥ sūraḥ pratāpi(pī) nirjita-śatruḥ satya-dharm-ā[n]vitaḥ Yudhisṭhira-samaḥ prajā-
pālana-ta-
- 11 tpara[h*] Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati-Mā(Ma)hārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara[h*] aṣṭāśīti-saśaśra-
a(sr-ā)dhīpa-
- 12 ti[h*] | śrī-Śatrubhañjadēva-pādaiḥ⁶ | mā(ma)hādēvi(vī)-śrī-Anakaḥdēvi(vī) || ju(yu)-
varājā(ja)-śrī.
- 13 Narīndrabhañja | sandhivigrahi-śrī-Prajāpati[h*] | mudrahasta-śrī-Bhi(l)ma[h*] | prati-
hāra⁷-śrī-Manōratha[h*] | pura-
- 14 śrēṣṭhi-śrī-Vishṇudattaḥ mātā-pitarō⁸r=ātma[na*]ś=cha⁹ 1¹⁰ dharmma-yashō(śō)-vṛi[d*].
dhayē¹¹ | Bhagavata(d)-bhaṭṭāraka-Śaṅka-
- 15 .ra[rū]¹² samu[d*]diś[ya] Urtti-visa(śa)ya-pratīva(ba)ddha-Syallāmāyī¹³-grāma(maḥ) sa-
jala-sthala(laḥ) chatu[h*]śīmāvatsina¹⁴
- 16 sa-viṭapa-latā 1¹⁰ Madhya¹⁵dēsa(śa)-vina(ni)rgata-bhaṭṭaputra-Nārāyaṇasya pautrāya
bhaṭṭaputra-Cha-
- 17 krapāṇisya¹⁶ putrāya | Bhaṭṭaputra-Daṇḍapāpī¹⁷ | Kauśi(Kauśi)ka-sagōtrāya triyāri-
shaya¹⁸-pra[va*]rāya¹⁹ ||²⁰
- 18 Vasishṭha-gōtrāya Vasishṭha-pra[va*]rāya | tāmbra²¹-sā(śā)sani(nī)kṛita(tya) pradat-
[t*]ō=smābhiḥ ||[*] Bhūmi[m*] yaḥ pratigrihṇā-
- 19 ti 1¹⁰ yaś=cha bhūmi[m*] prayachchhati | ubhau ttau²² punya(nya)-karmṇānu niyatau²³
svargga-gāminau || [5 ||*]

¹ This forms half of a verse in *Āryā* metro. See A, v. 2.

² The initial vowel is *a* and not *ā* as M. reads.

³ M. reads *dalana*.

⁴ M. reads 'śaraśvatīnīmīlō and emends it as *Sarasvatī-nīmīlō*. There is no doubt that the phrase intended is *śaraḥ śuchir=vinīlō* as in A, l. 7.

⁵ M. reads *sarvāpāpa*, but the word *satyavādī* is quite clear.

⁶ M. reads *pādēh*. The correct form should be *pādāh*.

⁷ M. reads *Pratīhārī*.

⁸ M. reads *pitararātmasya*.

⁹ M. reads *dharmayasō(śō)bbhīridh(ddh)ayē*.

¹⁰ M. reads *Bhagavantaḥ bhaṭṭārakaḥ Śaṅkaraḥ*.

¹¹ M. reads 'yī.

¹² M. reads *madha*.

¹³ Read 'pāyāyē.

¹⁴ M. reads *ścha* after it, but I find no trace of it. [As there seems to be only one donee the *gōtra* and *praturas* mentioned first were probably engraved by mistake and later corrected as found in l. 18.—Ed.]

¹⁵ *Daṇḍas* unnecessary.

¹⁶ Read *tau*.

¹⁷ Read -*pitṛōr=*.

¹⁸ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

¹⁹ Read -*śīm-āvachchhinnaḥ*.

²⁰ Read 'pāyēh.

²¹ Read *tryārshēya*.

²² Read *tāmra*.

²³ Read *niyataḥ*.

Reverse.

- 20 Ānandanti¹ pitara[ḥ*] prava[ḡa]nti² pitāmahā[ḥ*] [!*] bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā ssami-
trātā bhaviṣya(sya)-
21 ti³ | [16 ||*] Haratō hārayatē(yēd=)yas=tu manda-vudhis⁴=tamā(mō)vṛitah⁵ | sa
va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇō pāsē triyag⁶ yō-
22 nisu(shu)⁷ jāyētō⁸ | [17||*] Sva-dattā[m*] para-dattām=vā yō harētā⁹ vasundharā[m !*]
sa vishṭhāyā[m*] kṛimira¹⁰ bhūtvā¹¹
23 pitribhi¹² saha pachyatē | [19 ||*] Sva-dānātā¹³ phalam=āṇantaḥ¹⁴ para-dat[t*]-ānu-
pālānē[!*] sashṭhi-varisha¹⁵
24 sahaśrā(srā)ṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah || [10*] ||¹⁶

No. 15.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF SINDA ADITYAVARMAN : SAKA 887.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A. AND M. G. DIKSHIT, B.A.

Of the two leaves of a set of copper-plates, which are edited here for the first time, the first is from the collection of the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, a well-known researcher of Khândesh. It is now deposited in the Rājwāde Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala, Dhūlia. The second plate was found in the collection of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. No definite information is available regarding the original findspot of these plates, but they were probably discovered somewhere in the Poona District of the Bombay Presidency.¹⁷ They are edited here with the kind permission of the authorities of the two Institutions in which they are now preserved.

They are the last two plates of a set which must have originally consisted of three or four copper-plates. The initial one or two plates, which probably contained a glorification of some ancestors of the donor, are not now forthcoming. The present plates contain a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter at the top, which indicates that the plates were held together by a ring. But the ring together with the seal, if it had any, is now lost. The plates measure from 9.5" to 9.7" broad and from 7.5" to 8.2" high. The first plate weighs 66 *tolas* and the second 44½ *tolas*.

¹ M. reads *āphālayanti*. The usual expression is *āsphālayanti*.

² M. reads *pragallhanti*.

³ M. reads the passage as follows: *bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā(ḥ*) sa na[s]=trātā bhaviṣhyati*. This is undoubtedly the correct form, (cf. Manhali Copper-plate line 53, J. A. S. B., 1900, pp. 65 ff) but not the correct reading of the text.

⁴ Read *-buddhis=*.

⁵ M. reads *tanōvṛitah* which is undoubtedly the more usual form.

⁶ Read *tiryag=*.

⁷ M. reads *tiryag-yōnau [sa] jāyātē*.

⁸ Read *jāyātē*.

⁹ M. reads *jō harat*.

¹⁰ Read *kṛimir=*.

¹¹ M. reads *kṛimirbhūtvā*.

¹² Read *pitrībhīḥ*. This is M's reading.

¹³ Read *-dānāt*.

¹⁴ Read *-ānantaḥ*. M. reads *ānantaḥ*.

¹⁵ Read *shashṭhi-varsha=*.

¹⁶ There is one ornamental mark between the two sets of *daṇḍas*.

¹⁷ As shown below, the donated village is in the Poona District. Another Sinda copper-plate, dated Saka 838, has been recently discovered at Nārāyaṅgōn near Junnar in the same district.

The extant portion of the inscription, which is in a state of excellent preservation, contains fifty-two lines of writing, of which sixteen are engraved on the first and seventeen on the second side of the first plate. The second plate has nineteen lines inscribed on one side only. The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Several letters appear in a transitional stage and exhibit more than one form each. Besides, the record was written in a cursive hand and engraved in a careless manner, several strokes being left out. The reading of a few *aksharas*, especially in lines 32-33 and 51-52, is consequently not free from doubt. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the forms of *kh* in *Bhīm-ākhyō*, l. 1 and *śākhā*, l. 28, the former of which has a loop in the left limb, while the latter is without it. Similarly the letters *g*, *m*, *n* and *r* present looped and unlooped forms, see, e.g., *g* in *garvabhasthō*, l. 5 and *nagara*, l. 10; *m* in *chintāmaṇi*, l. 3 and *vismaya*, l. 18; *n* in *janānām*, l. 4 and *sēnāpālī*, l. 9 and *r* in *jarad*, l. 12 and *guṇa-rāṣi*, ll. 1-2. The several forms of the palatal *ś* seen in *śrī*, l. 2, *guṇa-rāṣi*, ll. 1-2 and *āśrita*, ll. 3-4 and of *v* in *vilālāḥ*, l. 19 and *ēv-aikaḥ*, l. 21, are also noteworthy. The left limb of *dh* is undeveloped, *bh* and *h* are almost identical in shape, and *ph* is drawn cursively, see *samadhigat*, l. 6, *Bhīm-ākhyō*, l. 1, *mahōtadhiḥ*, ll. 4-5 and *phayindra* l. 7. Finally, the record exhibits here and there the use of the *prishṭha-mātrās* to denote medial diphthongs.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed in a good style, but contains several mistakes due to careless writing. The extant portion contains one incomplete and ten complete verses¹ in ll. 1-5, 17-21, 40-45, and 48-51, the rest being in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are the use of the vowel *ri* for *ri* in *āśrita*, ll. 3-4 and that of *v* for *b* as in *mahāśavda*, l. 6 and the reduplication of a consonant following *r* as in *kuhara-varṭti*, l. 14 and *gandharva*, l. 16.

The inscription is one of the Sinda king, the *Mahāsāmanta* Ādityavarman, who had obtained all *mahāśabdas* and was born in the lineage of Dīśhtivisha, the lord of Nāgas.² The object of it is to record the grant, by Ādityavarman, of a village named *Kiṇṇihikā* which was included in the (larger) village *Paṅgarikā* and was situated in the *Rāmatīrthikā*-Eighty-four. Among the boundaries of the village, which are specified in ll. 33-35, are mentioned a *layaṇa-giri* (hill containing cells) which bounded it on the west and a river named *Indra* which flowed on its north. The donee was the *Brāhmaṇa Navaśiva*, son of *Chandrabhaṭṭa*, who belonged to the *Kauṇḍinya-gōtra* and was a student of the *Bahvricha-śākhā* (of the *Rigveda*). He had emigrated from the *Madhyadēśa*. The grant was made by Ādityavarman, while residing at *Junninagara*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of *Chaitra* in the expired Śaka *samvat* 887, the cyclic year being *Krōdhana*. The date is regular. The expired Śaka 887 (corresponding to A.D. 965-66) was *Krōdhana* according to the southern luni-solar system and there was a solar eclipse on the *amāsyā* of the *paurṇimānta* *Chaitra*. The corresponding Christian date is Monday, the 6th March A.D. 965.

The genealogy of Ādityavarman which was given in the initial portion of the record is now almost wholly lost. The extant portion of the record contains only two names, viz., *Bhīma* and his son *Muñja*, the grandfather and the father respectively of Ādityavarman. About *Muñja* we are told that he was superior to (another) *Muñja* in merits. It is not clear who this latter personage was. The reference can scarcely be to the homonymous king of the *Paramāra* dynasty, the celebrated poet and patron of Sanskrit learning; for he was not a contemporary of

¹ The verse in ll. 17-19 occurs also in the *Bhādāna* grant of *Aparājita*, Śaka 919, above, Vol. III, pp. 273-74.

² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 141ff.

Ādityavarman's father and had not in fact ascended the throne even at the time when the present record was incised. His father Siyaka was ruling in V. S. 1029¹ (i.e., A.D. 972-73) and was, therefore, on the throne for at least seven years after the issue of the present charter. It is not, therefore, likely that Muñja was already so famous in A.D. 965 as to induce the author of the present record to institute a comparison between him and the father of Ādityavarman. The name of one other Muñja, who also belonged to the Sinda family, is known from his Tidguandi plates,² but he belongs to a much later age, as he was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Chālukya dynasty.

As said above, Ādityavarman belonged to the Sinda family and claimed descent from the Nāga lineage. He had on his banner the figure of a golden lion. As he does not claim a higher title than *Mahāsāmanta*, he was plainly subordinate to some paramount power. His suzerain was probably the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, for whom, it is interesting to mention, we have a record bearing the same date as the present record, viz., 6th March A.D. 965.³

The Sindas, Chhindas or Chhindakas of the Nāgavāmśa are known from several earlier and later records. Most of these come from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency and Mysore and Hyderābād states, while some are found in the Bastar state of the Central Provinces. Legendary accounts of the origin of the family are furnished by some later inscriptions. Thus, according to the Bhairanmaṭṭi stone inscription the eponymous founder of the family was a certain long-armed Sinda, who was born from the serpent king Dharaṇendra at Ahichchhatra in the region of the river Sindhu and reared by a tiger.⁴ According to another account Sinda was born from the union of the god Śiva and the river Sindhu and was brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.⁵ It seems, therefore, that the original habitat of the family was somewhere in North India, probably in the valley of the Indus. Many of these Sinda or Chhindas call themselves *Bhōgavatī-pura-var-ādhiśvara* 'the lord of Bhōgavatī, the best of towns'. The exact location of Bhōgavatī is not settled, but according to the *Navasāhasāṅkcharita* of Padmagupta it was situated to the south of the Narmadā, perhaps in the Bastar state.⁶

From their original home in North India several branches of the family migrated to the South and established themselves in different parts of the peninsula. According to one account the aforementioned Sinda married the daughter of a Kadamba king and had by her three sons who established the family of Sinda kings. This Sinda was probably a feudatory of the contemporary Kadamba king and seems to have been ruling somewhere in the Kuntala kingdom. The Jāvali plates⁷ of the Western Gaṅga prince Śrīpurusha-Prithivī-Kōṅguṇi speaks of a *Sindavishaya* which, according to Mr. Rice⁸, extended over parts of the Dhārwār, Bijāpur and Bellary Districts. Another account states that the long-armed Sinda, the founder of the family, settled in the Karahāṭa-Four-thousand province, which evidently comprised the territory round Karhāḍ in the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency. Later on we find several branches of the family established at Bāgaḍagē⁹ (Bāgalkōṭ in the Bombay Presidency), Erambaragē¹⁰ (Yelburgā in the Nizām's Dominions) and Chakrakōṭya¹¹ (in the Bastar state).

¹ See Dhanapāla's *Pāṇalachchhimālā*, verse 198.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 306 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 231.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, p. 151.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, *Introd.*, pp. 7 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, pp. 230 ff.

⁹ *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 219 ff.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 174 ff.

⁶ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 103 ff.

Most of these Sinda or Chhinda families distinguished themselves from the 10th to the 12th centuries A.D. as feudatories of the Later Chālukyas. But some we can trace to earlier times. The Nēsari plates¹ of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 727, mention a prince named Nāgahastin who was an ornament of the great Chhinda family and belonged to the lineage of the lord of serpents. The family of Āḍityavarman also was, as we have seen, a feudatory family which probably owed allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭas.

We have not so far come across records of the Sindas or Chhindas earlier than the age of the Rāshtrakūṭas. But that does not mean that these families rose into prominence for the first time in the ninth century A.D. As we have already seen, the founder of the family was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Kadambas. He must, therefore, have lived in the fifth or sixth century A.D. when the Kadambas were powerful in the South. As a matter of fact we find in that age a family with the analogous name Sēndraka which was subordinate to the Kadambas. The territory under its rule was called *Sēndraka-vishaya*. From the statement in the Bennur grant² that the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II made the gift of a village in the *Sēndraka-vishaya* while on a victorious march to Vaijayantī (modern Banavāsi in North Kanara), it is conjectured that the *Sēndraka-vishaya* lay not far from the Banavāsi kingdom. It is generally identified with the Nagarakhaṇḍa division of the Banavāsi-Twelve-thousand which from another inscription³ is known to have been under the rule of the Sēndrakas. It was thus contiguous to, if not identical with, the *Sinda-vishaya* mentioned above. The Sēndrakas appear first as feudatories of the Kadambas,⁴ but on the downfall of the latter they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, with whom some of them had become matrimonially connected.⁵ When Pulakēśin II conquered Mahārāshṭra and Lāṭa from the Kalachuris, he placed a trusted Sēndraka chief named Bhānuśakti⁶ in charge of part of the conquered territory, viz., Southern Gujarāt and Khāndesh. Grants of land⁷ made by Bhānuśakti's grandson Allaśakti have been discovered in those parts of the country. Later on he was ousted from Southern Gujarāt, but he and his son continued to rule in Khāndesh. The latest record of the Sēndrakas found in Khāndesh is the Mundkhēḍe copper-plate inscription⁸ of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti, which is dated Śaka 602 (A.D. 680).

The inscriptions of the Sēndrakas do not generally connect their family with any eponymous hero, but the Lakshmēśvara stone inscription⁹ states that they were of the *bhujagēndr-āncaya* or 'lineage of the king of serpents'. It seems, therefore, that the Sēndrakas came in course of time to be called Sindas or Chhindas; for, besides similarity in their names, the two families claimed descent from the same race and in some cases ruled over the same territory.

¹ G. H. Khar, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhi), Vol. I, pp. 15 ff.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, pp. 594 ff.

³ See the Baḷagāmvē inscription of the time of Vinayāditya, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 142 ff.

⁴ See Hālsi grant of Harivarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 31.

⁵ The Sēndraka prince Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja was a maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II, above, Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.

⁶ No records of this chief have so far come to light, but as his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in A.D. 653 and 657, Bhānuśakti has to be placed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Pulakēśin II.

⁷ One of these was discovered at Bagumrā in South Gujarāt and two in Khāndesh. See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 747. Bühler gives this chief's name as Nikumbhallaśakti, but Nikumbha was only a *biruda*. It is used as such with the name of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also. The recently discovered Sēndraka plates spell the chief's name as Nikumbh-allaśakti. See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 747.

⁸ This record was first published in the first volume of the Marāṭhi magazine *Prabhāta* of Dhūlia. See also the *An. Rep. of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhēdhaka Maṇḍala*, for Śaka 1834, pp. 169 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 106. This record is, however, held to be spurious.

After Jayaśakti we have no records of the Sēndrakas from Mahārāshṭra. After the lapse of nearly three centuries we get the present grant of the Sinda family. It is not known if the family of Ādityavarman was connected with any other Sinda families. But we may note that the names Bhīma and Muñja, which occur in the present record, figure again as names of Sinda feudatories in the Tīdgundi plates of the time of Vikramāditya VI. The similarity of names suggests some sort of connection between the two families. The present plates state that the banner of Ādityavarman had the figure of lion on it and it is noteworthy that the seal of the aforementioned Tīdgundi plates also contains a figure which Kielhorn took to be that of a tiger or a lion.¹

As the provenance of the plates is not known, it would have been difficult to identify the localities mentioned in them, but the mention of the Indra river and a *layaṇa-giri* among the boundaries of the donated village affords an important clue. The former is evidently identical with the Indrāyaṇī river which forms the northern boundary of the Poona *tālūkā*. The donated village Kīṇihikā is probably identical with Kinhai situated on the south bank of the Indrāyaṇī near Shelārwaḍi, about 16 miles North by West of Poona. There are some caves to the west of it.² Its situation therefore exactly answers to the description in the present plates. Paṇgarikā cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity. Rāmātīrthikā, the headquarters of the subdivision in which Kīṇihikā was included, is probably identical with Rāmātīrtha where Ushavādā made certain gifts to Brāhmaṇas as recorded in a Nāsik cave inscription.³ The latter is taken by some to be a holy *kuṇḍa* situated in or near Śūrpāraka⁴ with which it is mentioned in the aforementioned inscription. But the description in the present plates shows that it was the headquarters of a small subdivision of eighty-four villages and must have been situated not very far from Kinhai. No place of that name can, however, be traced now in its neighbourhood. Junnīnagara, where the king's camp was pitched, is probably identical with Junnar,⁵ a well-known place about 55 miles north of Poona.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate⁷; First Side.

- 1 पू(वृ)णामतिदुर्जयः⁸ ३[१॥*] तत[स्व]नूजश्च⁹ भीमाख्यो गु-
2 णराशिरभूवृ(वृ)पः । उदपादि ततः श्रीमासुंजो मुं-

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 307.

² There are about twenty caves at or near Shelārwaḍi, all of about the first or second century after Christ. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 212; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 246.

³ Inscription No. 10, above, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

⁴ As the inscription reads *Śūrpārakaḥ cha Rāmātīrthē*, Bhagwanlal and following him Senart take Rāmātīrtha to be the modern Rāmakuṇḍa reservoir in Sōpārā (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 572, n. 3 and above, Vol. VIII, p. 79). But the draftsman of the record has offended against Sanskrit grammar in other places also. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar translates the above expression as 'in Sōrpāraka and Rāmātīrtha' (see his *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 24) and Bühler as 'at Rāmātīrtha near Sōrpāraka' (see *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 160).

⁵ R. G. Bhandarkar suggested that Junnar was derived from Jīṇanagara (i.e., 'old town'). See *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 60.

⁶ From the original plates.

⁷ As stated above, this plate was originally the second or third plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Rājwaḍe Samśūdhana Maṇḍala, Dhulia.

⁸ Read *śatrūpāṇam-ati-durjayaḥ*.

⁹ Read *talas-tanūjō*. Metre of this and the next verse : *Anuṣṭubh*.

- 3 जगुणा[धि]कः ॥[२॥*] अहितकुलकालकेतुः चिंतामणिरा-
 4 श्रु(श्रि)तजनानां(नाम्) [1*] आदित्यवर्धनयोभूततो वैश्वमहो-
 5 दधिः¹ ॥[३॥*] यश्च गर्भस्थोराचम[यु]वतिगर्भ[ह]ना[क्ता]² अ[प]रि-
 6 ण प्रख्यातः ॥ तदसौ समधिगताशेषमहा[श]ब्द(ब्दो) महापा(सा)-
 7 मंत(तो) दृष्टी(ष्टि)विषफणीन्द्रवंशोज्ज्व[ः*] सिन्दान्वयप्रसूत[ः*] [स्व]र्णम-
 8 यस्तुगेन्द्रध्वज[ः*] कुशली क्षुन्नित(न)गरावस्थितचौमदादित्यवर्धः³
 9 सर्वान्स्वसंव(व)ध्यमानकान् महामात्यसे[ना]पतिमहासाह[सि]-
 10 करारज[पु]चनगरग्रामस्थान(न्) पौरविस्त्रिस्तक*ग्राम[कू]टनि-
 11 युक्तानि[यु]क्तप्रधानाप्रधानन⁵ । समनुवो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वो वि-
 12 दितं यथा वाताहतजलतरंगवीचीभंगुरा विभवाः ।⁶ जरद्रा-
 13 क्षसीग्रस्थमान(नं) पचटिन⁷ विकारभागस्थिरं यौवन(नं) ।⁸ कृन्ता(ता)न्ता-
 14 स्यकुह्रवर्त्तिजलबुद्बु⁹दवत्क्षणदृष्टनष्टमायुः [रं]भास्त[म्भ]-
 15 सारवदसारं शरीरकं ।¹⁰ स्वप्नोपालंभस्तुगद्विषिकाभःसम(मं)
 16 वा[पि] गन्धर्व्वनगरीष(प)मम[स]क्ता[त्य]प्रायं च चा[रु]क(त्वं)

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 चला विभूतिः क्षणभंगि यौवनं ।⁹ कृतान्तदंतांत[र]वर्त्ति
 18 यौवनं(नम्)¹⁰ [1*] तथाप्यवज्ञा परलोकसास(ध)ने अहो नृणां विस्मयका-

¹ Metre *Upagiti*. The last *pāda* of this verse is faulty.

² Read *garbbhasthū-rāti-yuvati-garbbhaha-nāmn-āparēṇa*.

³ Read *Śrīmad-Adityavarmā*.

⁴ I have not come across the name of this official elsewhere. Perhaps he is identical with the *Purapati* (Mayor of a town) mentioned in the Bhūdāna grant of Aparājita, above, Vol. III, p. 273.

⁵ Read *pradhān-āpradhānān*. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁷ Read *pratidinam*.

⁸ Read *jala-budbudavat-*.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ As *yauvanam* is already mentioned, some word like *jīvanam* is required here. The aforementioned Bhūdāna grant has *jīvanam* in this verse.

- 19 रि चेष्टितं(तम्)¹ ॥४॥* तथा च । संपदो जलतरंगविलोलाः शैवनं चिचतु-
 20 राणि [दि]नानि । शरदाभ्रचलचंचलमायुः किं ध[नैः] कुरुत धर्मम-
 21 निन्द्य(यम्)² ॥५॥* सर्वमेवासत्त्वमेवमवगत्य धर्म एवैकः सा(शा)[श्च]त[सु](स)-
 22 झ[ः]* सखा व(व)न्धुरमुचा³परं च नान्योस्तीत्यवधार्य शकनृपकालाती-
 23 तसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टशु(सु) सप्ताशीत्यधिकेषु क्रोधनसंवत्स्रान्तर्ग-
 24 तचैत्रामावा[स्या]मादित्यग्रहणपूर्वणि मी(मा)तापिनोरैहिका-
 25 मुषिकफलावासये आत्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिहृदये पूर्व-
 26 जैरग्रहारस्थित्वा एतदीयातौतपुरुषाणां प्रतिपालितोवि-
 27 [रुध]⁴रि[दा]नीं सर्वपरिहारान्विधाय मया मध्यवे(दे)शविनिर्गतकौ-
 28 णि(ण्डि)न्यसगोत्रव(व)हृच[शा]खासन्न(न्न)ज्ञचारिणे महाद्विजाय श्यो-
 29 नवशिवाय श्रीचन्द्रभट्टसुताय परमया भक्त्या पांदा⁵ प्रक्षाल्य ह-
 30 स्तोदकप्रदानपूर्वकं रामतीर्थि[का]चतुरशीति[कान्तः]पातिक-
 31 णिहिकाग्रामः पं[ग]रिकाग्राम एवाभ्यन्तरः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायन्न(न्न)-
 32 ज्ञा[दा]यवा(वा)ज्ञः ब्र(न्न)ज्ञग्रामदे(?)विल्लकग्राम⁶विहो(?)लासमेतः प्रद-
 33 त्तः [ः]* यस्याघटनानि [पू]र्वतः सीमा [त्रि]मगणपतिः

Second Plate.⁷

- 34 दक्षिणतः सीमा च चैरी डोङ्गरिका । पश्चिमतः सीमा लय-
 35 णगिरिः । उत्तरतः सीमा इन्द्रनदी । एवं चतुराघाटसमे-
 36 तः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिः सदण्डदशपराधोपि भवि[ष्य]⁸दागामिभोक्तृ-

¹ Metre : *Yamkatha*

² Metre : *Śrāgāḥ*.

³ *Aparatra* seems to have been used here in the sense of *atra*.

⁴ Perhaps *pratipādī-āviruddham=idānim* is the intended reading.

⁵ Read *pāda*.

⁶ Compare with this the expression *mēshu (?) vallikā-prāvēśukāḥ* in ll. 41-42 of the Törkhēdē plates (above, Vol. III, p. 56).

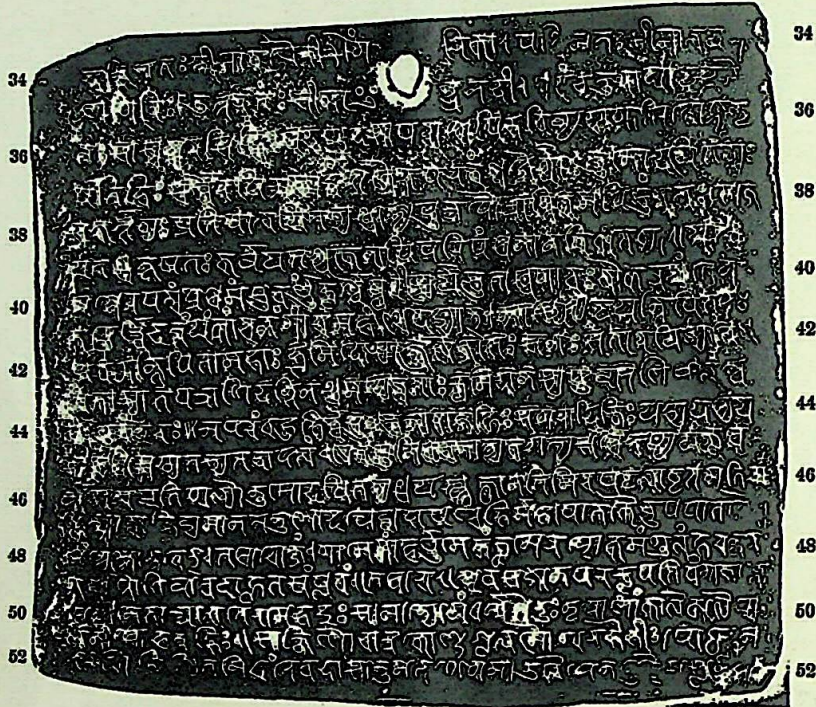
⁷ This plate was originally the third or fourth plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samādāhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.

⁸ This word, which means the same as *āgāmi*, is superfluous.

2 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 4 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 6 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 8 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 10 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 12 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 14 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 16 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु

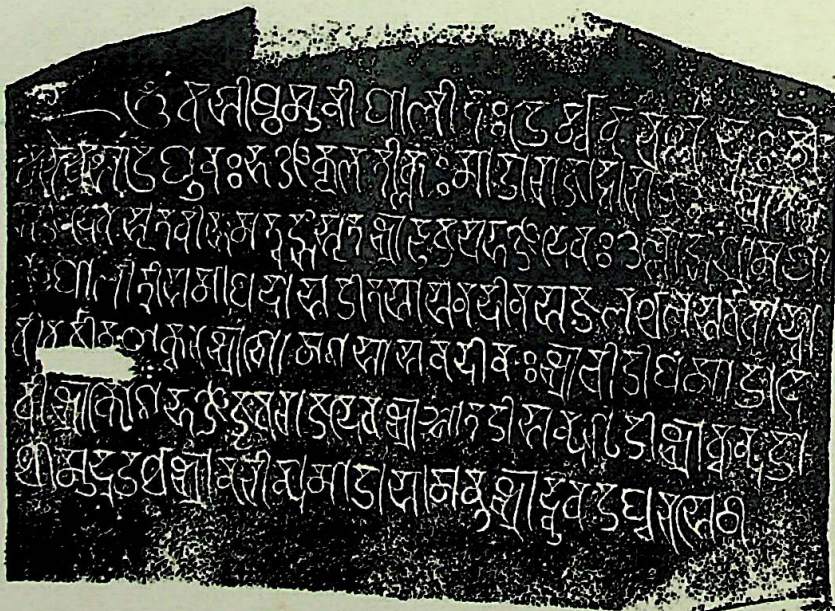
18 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 20 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 22 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 24 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 26 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 28 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 30 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु
 32 ममममिदुःखः॥ तरे सुतेजसुदीमाज्यायु

Second Plate.



SCALE: ONE-HALF.

ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJA.



- 37 पतिभिः सर्वैरपि अस्मद्वंशजैरपरवंशजैर्वाऽनुमोदयितव्यः
- 38 सत्कर्तव्यः प्रतिपालयितव्यश्चास्य¹ पुत्रपौत्रान्तिकमपि भुंजतः भोज-
- 39 यतश्च कृषतः कर्षयतश्च केनापि परिपंथना न विधातव्या ॥ यतः
- 40 अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन
- 41 भ[वि]र्दि² दत्तं यं(यः) कांचनं गां च महीश्च दद्यात् ॥[६॥*]³ आस्मोदयन्ति⁴
पितरः
- 42 प्रव[त्त]न्ति पितामहाः [1*] भूमिदोस्मत्कुले जातः स नः संतारयिष्यति ॥[७॥*]
- 43 सितान्यातपत्राणि⁵ दन्तिनश्च मदोदताः [1*] भूमिदानस्य पु[ष्पा]णि फलं [स्व]
- 44 द्य(र्गः) पुरंदरः⁶ ॥[८॥*] अपरं च [1*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-
दिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य य-
- 45 दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[९॥*] एवं सुनिवचनान्ववगल्य [स]र्वैर-
प्ययं भूध-
- 46 [र्क्ष]दाय[ः*] प्रतिपाल्योनुमोदयितव्यश्च [1*] यस्त्वज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिरा-
- 47 च्छि[न्त्या]दाच्छिद्यमान[म]नुमोदयेद्वा स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकै[श्च]
- 48 संयुक्तो भवेत् । तथा चोक्तं(क्तम्) । गामिकां स्वर्णमेकं [च*] भूमेरप्येक-
मंगुलं(लम्) । हरन्नर-
- 49 कमा[प्रो]ति यावदाहृतसंप्लवं(वम्) ॥[१०॥*] तथा च ॥ स्ववंशजान(न्) परभू-
पतिवंशजान्वा
- 50 सर्वमे(नि)तान्याचते रामभद्रः [1*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुः वृषाणां⁷ काले काले ए
- 51 लनीयो भवद्भिः⁸ ॥[११॥*] साक्षिणौ चात्र⁹ कोण्डू(?) ल मौख[र]हेही । पाठम ?]म-
- 52 तिलो(?) लिखितमिदं खेदासानुमतं गोगमाउरैवेन बुद्ध्यष्टमे[न ?] [1*]

¹ Read *pratipālāyitavyaś=cha* | *Asya*.

² Read *bhavēd=dhi*.

³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁴ Metre of verses 7-10: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ This *pāda* has one *akṣara* wanting. Read *Susītāny=*. The usual reading is *dhatulānya*.

⁶ This *visarga* is superfluous.

⁷ Read *śtur=ṇṛipāṇām*.

⁸ Metre: *Śālinī*. The first *pāda* is irregular.

⁹ We are not sure about the reading of the last thirteen *akṣaras* in lines 51 and 52 each.

A

Acc No. 160.

No. 16.—ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJA.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of one Rajakisore Pattanayak of Ādipur, a village about three miles to the north-west of Khiching, the ancient capital of the rulers of Mayūrbhanj. The owner at first brought it to the notice of Mr. Sailendra Prasad Bose of the Khiching Museum and then of Mr. K. C. Neogi, the Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State, who acquired it for the Archaeological Museum at Bāripadā. Mr. P. Acharya, the State-Archaeologist, handed it over to Pandit Binayak Misra of the Calcutta University for publication. I am indebted to Pandit Misra for the kind permission he has given me for editing the plate.

The plate measures about 8" × 6" and contains an inscription of only seven lines on its obverse. A seal surmounted by an *āmala* is attached to the top, which contains in relief the figure of a *couchant* humped bull but no legend. The engraving has been neatly and carefully done and the inscription is in perfect preservation. The characters used in this grant point to an age when the Oriya characters were in the process of assuming their present forms. This is evident from the forms of *śi* (1.1), *ṣ* (1.2), *p* (1.3), *ṭh* (1.4), *ṭh* (1.5), and *ṭ* (1.6) which distinctly look like the modern Oriya characters.

The letters of this plate especially the letters *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *p*, *r*, *ś*, and *s* closely resemble those used in the Mahada Plates of Yōgēśvaradēvavarman¹ and the Patna Museum Plate of Sōmēśvaradēva². On palaeographical grounds the latter grant has been assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A. D. though the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri was not inclined to assign such a late date to it.³ The orthography of the plate deserves more than a passing notice. Though an attempt has been made to compose the text in Sanskrit as is evident from the use of several *visargas*, the composer of the inscription seems to have no knowledge in Sanskrit at all. The text makes no distinction between the long and short vowels, nor does it often use the three sibilants—dental, palatal and lingual—correctly, a fact which has been illustrated throughout the inscription. It also presents a number of phonetic peculiarities of colloquial Oriya language, e.g., *Hērma* (1.1), *ṭadḍha* (1.1), *ṭṭana* (1.2), *ṭikla* (1.2), *māhārājādhirāja* (1.2), *vibhama* (1.3), *Dujaya* (1.3), *sāsana-dīna* (1.4), *sa-jala-thala* (1.4), *sandagrihi* (1.6), *mudrahartha* (1.7), *Narindā* (1.7) and *pura-sāḥi* (1.7) which are the corrupt forms of Sanskrit *Hēramba*, *ṭadḍha*, *ṭṭanna*, *ṭilaka*, *māhārājādhirāja*, *vibhrama*, *Durjaya*, *sāsana-ādihina*, *sa-jala-sihala*, *sandhivigrahin*, *mudrā-hasta*, *Narēndra* and *pura-śrēṣṭhīn* respectively. Another peculiarity of the text is that it contains no verb at all⁴, and its sense can be made out only by adding certain verbs in their proper places. I have deemed it better to publish the text as it is, for, an attempt to correct it will result in its wholesale change.

The introductory passages common to the Bhañja records of Mayūrbhanj, are conspicuous in this grant by their absence. The inscription abruptly begins with certain epithets of *Raṇa-bhañjadēva*, surnamed *Vibhramatūṅga*⁵, representing him as having been nurtured by the sage *Vaśiṣṭha*, as a receiver of boon from *Hēramba*, as born in the *Mīvara* family and as the frontal mark of the Bhañja lineage. He has further been given the title of *Māhārājādhirāja*. Then it gives out that his son *Durjayabhāñjadēva*, who has been given no title at all, granted the village *Ōlāṅga* along with *Pāñchapālī* and *Trisamāpadā* (probably two other villages)

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff.² Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff.³ *P. R. A. S., E.C.*, 1916-17, p. 4, para. 5. [The text does contain a verb and that twice, which Mr. Panigrahi seems to have overlooked. In l. 4 *sāsana dīna* and again in l. 5 *sāsana dīnaḥ* mean 'grant has been given', the form *dīna* 'given' being derivable from the Prākṛit *dīna*.—B.C.C.]⁵ [Dr. Majumder assigns this surname to *Durjayabhāñja*; see above, p. 151.—Ed.]

to Ṭhākura śrī-Gōmaṭa for unimpeded enjoyment. At the time the grant was made, Chihīpa the chief queen, Kōṭabhañja the heir-apparent, Ātaḥī the Minister for war and peace, Kunda-hāthī the custodian of the Royal Seal, Narindā the chief feudatory and Ddhuvaha the town-banker were present.

Durjayabhañjadēva, the donor, has been represented in this record as the son of Raṇabhañjadēva and the father of Kōṭabhañja. In the Keshari plate of Śatrubhañjadēva,¹ however, Durjayabhañja figures as the son of Kōṭabhañja and the father of Raṇabhañja. Evidently the donor of the present grant is not identical with Durjayabhañja of the Keshari plate. Until further discoveries are made, it is not possible to assign a place to Durjayabhañja of this record in the Bhañja genealogical table.

The plate does not mention the traditional account relating to the origin of the Bhañjas as other Bhañja grants of Mayūrbhanj do. It, however, refers to a Mivara family (ll. 1-2) to which Raṇabhañjadēva is said to have belonged. Judging from the numerous mistakes of the text, it may at once be conceded that Mivara is a mistake for Mivāra (Mewār in Rājputānā). The author of the inscription, therefore, seems to refer the original home of the Bhañjas to Mewār. But the tradition² ascribes the connection of the Mayūrbhanj family with Jaipur which was never a part of Mewār. Moreover, the name Mewār itself is not to be found in early inscriptions. This, together with the unorthodox style in which the plate has been written, points to the fact that the document was drawn up by a person sometime about the fifteenth century A. D., who not only did not know much about the copper-plate grants, but also did not know the origin, either real or traditional, of the family he was describing.³

The villages Pāñchapālī and Ōllāṅga may conveniently be identified with Pañchupālī and Dēlāṅ, both situated in the Anandpur Sub-division of the Keonjhar State. As to the village Trisamāpadā, I cannot suggest any identification.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Siddham⁵ [!]* Ōm Vasishṭha-munī-pālitaḥ Hērmva-vara-lladdhaḥ Mi-
- 2 vara-varṁsa-uptanaḥ Bhañja-kūla-tiklaḥ mähārājaddhīrājaḥ śrī-Raṇa-
- 3 bhañjadēva-sūta Vibhamatuṅga-sūta śrī-Durjayabhañjadēvaḥ Ōllāṅga-grāma Pā-
- 4 ñchapālī Trisamāpadā sahita sāsanadīna sa-jala-thala sarva-vāddhā
- 5 vīvarjita Ṭhākura śrī-Gōmaṭa sāsanadīnaḥ śrī-Chihīpa-māhādē-
- 6 vī śrī-Kōṭabhañja-jūvarājadēva śrī-Ātaḥī-sandagrihī śrī-Kundahā-
- 7 ṭhī-mudrabhartha śrī-Narindā-māhāsāmanta śrī-Ddhuvaha-purasēṭhī [!]*

No. 17.—HALAYUDHASTOTRA FROM THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

By PROF. P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Madras).

Halāyudha (one who wields the *hala* or plough as a weapon) is a well known name in Sanskrit literature. Dr. Aufrecht has listed more than sixteen works under Halāyudha. On the inner

¹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, p. 429.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

³ [All these combined with the fact that the language of the record is full of errors seem to show that the grant never passed through the secretariate and thus makes one doubtful about its genuineness.—Ed.]

⁴ From ink-impressions and the original.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

side of the southern wall in the *maṇḍapa* of the Amarēśvara Temple at Māndhātā on the left bank of the river Narmadā in the Nimar District of the Central Provinces is carved a *stōtra* called the Halāyudha-*stōtra* (*vide* Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151). Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, has been good enough to send me an impression of this *stōtra*. There are several manuscripts of the Halāyudha-*stōtra* in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (D. Nos. 11271 to 11278). A critical edition of the Halāyudha-*stōtra*, using the text as appearing on the Amarēśvara temple wall as the basic text (न) and giving variant readings from three other manuscripts of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library is appended to this note. The record at the Amarēśvara temple is dated Samvat 1120, Kārttika-vadi 13 or A. D. 1063.

From the *stōtra* above referred to, we are sure that its author Halāyudha must have been a staunch devotee of Śiva. We agree with Dr. Chakravarti that as the *stōtra*-record is dated 1063 A.D., the author of the *stōtra* must have lived prior to the 11th century and could not therefore be identical with the famous Halāyudha who adorned the court of King Lakshmaṇasēna of Bengal and who is the author of several *sarvasvas* like *Brūhmaṇasarvasva*, *Paṇḍilasarvasva*, *Mīmāṃsāsarvasva*, etc.

The Telugu poet Pālkuriki Sōmanātha who lived about 1190 A.D., refers in his *Dvīpada Basarapurāṇa* to a Halāyudha, a follower of the Śaiva cult, and who was a native of Navagrāma. The last verse of the *stōtra* in the Amarēśvara temple distinctly refers to its author as a native of the village Navagrāma. We are therefore on sure ground if we identify the author of the *stōtra* with the Halāyudha referred to by Sōmanātha as an ardent devotee of Śiva. The last stanza above referred to reads as follows :

Dvijō dakṣhiṇa-Rāḍhiyō Navagrāma-vinirggataḥ |

Halāyudha-vu(bu)dhas-Śambhōr-imām stutim-arīrachat || (v. 64)

Of the works listed under the name Halāyudha by Aufrecht, the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* deserves our attention. In stanza 25, p. 4, of the work edited by Aufrecht in 1861 we find that among the several names of Viṣṇu, 'Śambhu' also is given as one. This is rather interesting as it reveals the mentality of the author. No other lexicographer has given the name Śambhu as synonymous with Viṣṇu. And only a staunch Virāśaiva, who believes that every word should ultimately denote only 'Śiva' as Śiva is all-pervasive, could have allowed himself to use 'Śambhu' as a synonym of Viṣṇu. Thus, it is not too much to assume the identity of authorship between the author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and the Halāyudha-*stōtra*.

In his instructive introduction, Dr. Aufrecht has argued that Halāyudha the lexicographer should be assigned to a date earlier than the eleventh century A.D. And we find that the author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* should be identical with the author of the *Kavirahasya* as the last stanza of the last mentioned work reads as follows :

Iti samāptam-avāpta-guṇ-ōdayaṁ Kavirahasyam-idam rasika-priyam |

sad-abhidhāna-nidhāna-Halāyudha-dvija-varasya kṛtiḥ sukṛit-ātmanah ||

The third quarter is indeed an indirect reference, in accepted poetic style, to the author's other work, his lexicon, *Abhidhānaratnamālā*. Dr. Keith has fixed the date of Halāyudha, the author of *Kavirahasya* as contemporaneous with his patron the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa III.

We therefore conclude that the author of the Halāyudha-*stōtra* should be identical with Halāyudha, the author of the *Kavirahasya* and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and should have flourished in the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

The edition of the *stōtra* is based on four texts of which *५* is the record found at the Amareśvara temple, and is printed as the basic text.

५ represents the manuscript described in D. No. 11271.

६ represents the palm-leaf manuscript written in Telugu script described in D. No. 11274.

७ represents the paper manuscript in Telugu script described in D. No. 11272.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1-61, *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 62, 64, *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 63, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 १ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ विघ्नं निघ्नन्धिरदवदनः प्रीतये वोस्तु^१ नित्यं वामे कूटः
प्रकाटितवृ(ह)हृच्चिण्मूलदन्तः । यः श्रीकण्ठं पितरमुमयाश्चिष्टवामार्धदेहं दृष्ट्वा
नूनं स्वयमपि 'दधावर्धनारौश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥१॥ श्लाघ्यः पुत्रः स भवति किल
स्वस्य वसुः सकाशादन्ते कैश्चित् क्वचिदपि गुणैर्ये^३]
- 2 : समुत्कर्षलेखाम् । इत्थं वाङ्म(वाङ्म)न् पितुरधिकतां पञ्चवक्त्रस्य नूनं षष्ठं वि(वि)भ्रव-
दनमपरं पातु विश्वं विशाखः ॥२॥ एको देवः स जयति शिवः केवल^४ज्ञान-
सूक्तिर्देवो सा च त्रिभुवनमिदं यद्विभूतिप्रपञ्चः । यत्कूटस्थं मिथुनमविनाभाव-
संबन्ध(बन्ध)योगान्धिश्री[भूतं तदखिलजगज्]-
- 3 अवीजं नमामि ॥३॥ एकः स्रष्टा सकलजगतामादिभूतः स्वयंभूस्त्राता तेषां त्रिभुव-
नगुरुर्व्यासुदेवः प्रसिद्धः । यस्तौ द्वावप्यतुलमहिमा संहरत्यन्तकाले कस्तस्यान्यो
भवति स्रष्टाः श्रीमहाकालमूर्तेः ॥४॥ वक्तुं वाङ्मां हर निरवधि त्वन्महिम्नः
[स्वरूपं चेतयैतत्क]-
- 4 तिपयपदज्ञानमात्रावसन्नं(न्नम्) । 'ज्ञात्वेवेदं त्रिनयनं' मया त्वद्गुणस्तोत्रभक्त्या स्वात्मन्येव
स्वयमपि कृतो धृष्टतापद्व(व)न्धः ॥५॥ वागीशस्त्वं युगपदखिलज्ञानसंपत्तियुक्तः
का ते^५ तुष्टिः स्तुतिरचनया मादृशस्याल्पशक्तेः । एवं ज्ञात्वा हर विर[मति स्तोत्र-
हेतौ हठा]-
- 5 नो भक्त्यावेशाद्यसरति मुखाङ्गारती किं करोमि ॥६॥ यत्ते तत्त्वं निरूपधि परं
वाङ्मनःपारभूतं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादीनामपि हर गिरस्तत्र भग्नाः प्रवेष्टुं(ष्टुम्) । अर्वा-
चीनं यदपरमिदं^६ पार्वतीवल्लभन्ते रूपं भक्त्या वरद तदहं वाग्भिरभ्यर्चयामि
॥७॥ अन्यैः स्तो[त्रं रचितममृतस्य]-

^१ दधार्थं (ग)

^२ नोस्तु (ग)
^३ The portion between square brackets in this and the following verses has been restored from manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

^४ अमल (क)

^५ ज्ञात्वा ते (ग)

^६ यदि परिमितं (क), यदि परमिदं (ग)

^७ केवलं (क)

^८ काली (ग)

^९ त्रिणयन (घ, क)

- 6 दिभिर्वाग्विलासेः फलप्रायैः किमिदमियता त्यज्यते महचोभिः । किं वा कैश्चित्कान-
ककमलैरर्चितं पादपीठं भक्त्या शंभो न पुनरपरः¹ पूजयत्यर्क्षपुत्रैः ॥८॥ पथ्या-
हारैः² हर जलमुचां, यौ च यौ पक्व(ङ्क)जानां मित्रामित्रौ वरद हवि[षां
दाहकथाहकौ]
- 7 यौ । यौ गंधस्य प्रजनवहनौ तानहं तुष्टिहेतोर्³रष्टौ वन्दे त्रिभुवनगुरोर्मूर्त्तिभेदांस्तवै-
तान् ॥९॥ सन्धा(संसा)रेस्मिन्भुवमसुलभं मानुषं जन्म लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा) युष्मानको
भजति सुकृती कश्चिदन्यं च देवं(वम्)⁴ । आरूढोऽपि स्मरहर गिरिं रोहणं
भाग्ययो[गादेको रत्नं कलय]-
- 8 ति महत्काचमन्यश्च फलु⁵ ॥१०॥ ये त्वामर्हन्मुगत इति वा भक्तियोगाद्भजन्ते तेभ्यः
शम्भो फलमभिमतं त्वं ददासीति युक्तं(क्तम्) । अध्वक्तान्तैः स्वरुचिरुचिरं नाम
किञ्चिद्दृष्ट्वा शीतं पीतं⁷ जलमिह जनैः किं न द्रुतिं करोति ॥११॥ [आदि-
त्यादिग्रहप]-
- 9 रिकरो याति चायाति नित्यं कालथायं दिवसरजनीपक्षमासर्तुचिह्नः । एतत्सर्वं ननु
[न घटते] प्रेरकत्वं विना ते कार्यं चास्मिन्न पुनरपरस्यास्ति सामर्थ्यमेतत्
॥१२॥ तस्यागारे गिरिश रमते धेनुवत्कामधेनुः⁸ क्रौडावाटे विटपि[सदृशः
कल्पते क]-
- 10 [लघुचः । लाचारचामणिरिव करे तस्य चिन्ताम]णिः स्याद्यस्मिन् सिद्धः¹⁰ सल्लदपि
क्षपादृष्टिपातप्रसादः¹¹ ॥१३॥ मौलौ लोलचिदशतटिनीतोयशीतेष्टतांशुं कण्ठे क्रूरं
कवलितविषश्यामले व्यालराजं(जम्) । ज्योत्स्नागौरै [वपुषि वि]-
- 11 शदं वि(वि)भ्रतो भस्मरागं ज्ञाता सम्यक्चिन्तयन्¹² मया योगभूषा तवैव¹³ ॥१४॥ धत्ते
शोभां सुसृणुतिलकस्यार्धं चक्षुर्ललाटे मौलौ लग्ना¹⁴ चिदशतटिनी मालतीमालिकेव ।
क्षेडं क्रौडासृगमदमयौ पत्रलेखेव कण्ठे [झाड्यः शम्भो स्फुरति सहजः को]-
- 12 पि भूषाविधिस्ते ॥१५॥ दग्धं येन त्रिभुवनमिदं देव दुर्वारधात्मा दग्धः सोपि
चिन्तयन्¹⁵ भ[व]दृष्टिपातेन कामः । युक्तं चैतद्भवति पुरुषो यः परस्योपतापी

¹ पुनरपि परः (ग)² दृष्टम् (क)³ Four letters seem to have been first engraved after this and then erased.⁴ कालं (क)⁵ क्रौडावाटीविटपि (क, ग)⁶ [To me the reading here seems to be "यस्या[ली]ङ्गः —Ed.]⁷ दृष्टिपातः प्रसादः (च, क)⁸ [I read समायोगभूषा तवैव —Ed.]⁹ मया (क)¹⁰ दृष्टिहीनः (च, ग), दृष्टिहीनः (क)¹¹ फलम् (ग)¹² चिन्तयन् (क, ग)¹³ त्रिभुवन (क, ग)

तस्यावश्यं पतति शिरसि क्रोधदण्डः प्रभूणां(णाम्) ॥१६॥ कस्य चेमी भवति बलिना स्पर्धमानस्य सार्धं]

- 13 यस्त्वत्कोपात्तिनयन¹ भवच्चक्षु[षा वक्षि]तोभूत् । प्रेम्णा दष्टेऽधरकिसलये दृष्टवान् यः स गामी² लीलानृत्यचतुरवनिताम्बूलताप्रेक्षणानि ॥१७॥ ये दारिद्र्योपहतवपुषो ये च दौर्भाग्यदग्धा ये वा शत्रुव्यसनविकला ये च मौर्ख्योपतप्ताः³ । [ये वा कैश्चित् त्रिनय⁴]-
- 14 न⁵ दृढं पीडिता⁶ दुःखशोकैस्तेषामेकस्त्वमसि⁷ शरणं तर्षितानामिवाश्रमः ॥१८॥ श्लाघ्यं जन्म श्रुतिपरिणतिः सत्क्रियायां प्रवृत्तिः प्रौढिः शास्त्रे ललितमधुरा संस्कृता भारती च । स्मृता लक्ष्मीर्वपुरपि दृढं चन्द्रलेखाङ्गमौले⁸ 'युष्मत्सेवा[पद]विरहितं सर्वमे]-
- 15 तत्पलालं(लम्) ॥१९॥ त्वत्पूजायां कुसुमहरणे धावतः पादयुग्मं⁹ 'यत्पापाण्यव्र[ज]परिकरो-
त्कीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत् । यत्तस्यैव¹⁰ त्वदनु चरतो रुद्रलोकं गतस्य ब्र(व्र)ह्मादीनां¹¹ मकुट-
किरणश्रेणयः शोणयन्ति¹² ॥२०॥ येषां युष्मत्प्रतिष्ठातिष्ठहं लि[म्पतां पाणयो ये¹³ त्व]-
- 16 ब्रह्मज्ञानां सलिललुलितैर्गोमयैः संप्रलिप्ताः । तेषामौश चिदशनगरीनायकत्वं गतानां
ते लिप्यन्ते मृगमदरसैः खेचरीणां कुचेषु ॥२१॥ यस्ते कृत्वा स्रपनमसृतैः पञ्च-
भिश्चन्द्रमौले पञ्चात्कैश्चिद्वत्कुसुमनिकरैर्मूर्ध्नि वध्नाति [मालाम् । तस्यावश्यं]
- 17 सकलभुवनैकाधिपत्याभिषिक्तो¹⁴ बध्नन्त्यन्ये¹⁵ शिरसि परमैश्वर्यसान्नाज्यपट्टम् ॥२२॥ एतच्चिच्चं
क्वचिदपि मया नैव दृष्टं श्रुतं वा तद्विस्मष्टं कथय किमिदन्नाथ कौतूहलं मे ।
यत्ते भक्त्या हर चरणयोरर्पितं पुष्पमेकं सद्यः सृते फल[मभिमतं कोटि]-
- 18 शः कामरूपं(पम्) ॥२३॥ यस्ते भक्त्या वरद चरणद्वन्द्वमुद्दिश्य दद्यादेकं नीलो-
त्पलदलमपि त्वत्प्रसादेन नूनं(नम्) । तत्प्रत्येतं निपतति पुनर्दृष्टिरालोल¹⁶ 'तारैर्दिव्य-
स्त्रीणां कुवलयदलश्रेणिदीर्घैः कटाक्षैः ॥२४॥ कृत्वा मालां घनपरिमलो[द्गार-
धाराकदम्बै]-

¹ त्रिनयन (क, ग)

² यस्य गामी (ग), यः स कामी (ग) [Reading seems to be दृष्टवान्नाम कामी?—Ed.]

³ मौर्ख्योपतप्ताः (ग)

⁴ त्रिनयन (क, ग)

⁵ दुःखिता (ग)

⁶ त्वमपि (क)

⁷ यस्मिन् (ग)

⁸ फल (ग)

⁹ यः पापायं ब्रजपरिकरोत्तौर्षरक्ताक्तमासीत् (ग)

¹⁰ त्वदनुभवतां (ग)

[Reading is परिकरोत्तौर्षरक्ताक्तमासीत्तस्यैव.—Ed.]

¹¹ ब्राह्मण्यं (ग)

¹² मकुट (क)

¹³ शोणयन्ते (ग)

¹⁴ दृष्टतालील (ग)

¹⁵ भुवनैकाधिपत्याभिषेकैः (ग)

¹⁶ [Reading is वध्नाति लं.—Ed.]

- 19 यस्तं कण्ठाभरणपदवीं प्रापयेन्नैलकण्ठं । दिव्यस्त्रीणां विपुलपुलकैर्वाहुभिः कण्ठ-
लग्नेस्तस्यापि त्वं वितरसि चिरं निर्भर्भे)रास्त्रेषसौख्यं(ख्यम्) ॥२५॥ कृत्वा पूजां
तव चरणयोरादरादष्टभूर्ते यः साष्टाङ्गं प्रणमति महोदृष्ट(ष्ठ)पीठे(ठे) लुठित्वा ।
प्रत्यास[न्नं चित्तिपतिपदं]
- 20 प्रीतिव(व)हानुरागा तस्योत्सङ्गे लुठति धरणी रेणुचक्रच्छलेन ॥२६॥ त्वामुद्दिश्य त्रिन-
यन^१ जनो यः प्रदीपं ददाति^२ ज्योतिर्ज्वालादलिततिमिरं द्योतितान्तर्निर्केतं(तम्) ।
तस्मै मायारजनिविलसद्भाढमोहान्धकारच्छेदप्रौढं त्वमपि दि[शसि ज्ञानमात्मप्रका]-
- 21 सं(शम्) ॥२७॥ चित्रैर्मात्सरचितकुसुमैर्धूर्जटे^३ पूजयित्वा... यः स्तौति त्वां जय जय
मंहदिव देवति^४ वाचा । सोऽप्यारोहन्^५ तव पुरं^६ श्रीलिव(व)हान्जलीनां शक्रा-
दीनां स्तुतिविषयतां त्वगसादाश्रयाति ॥२८॥ भस्मस्नानं वहसि शिरसा स्व[र्धुनी-
वारिभारं^७ शा-
- 22 न्तां भूर्तिः(र्त्ति) कलयसि करे कार्मुकं युक्तमेतत् । अथन्येषां कतिपयपुरस्त्राभिनां
चित्रभूताश्चेष्टा दृष्टास्त्रिभुवनपतेः किं महेश्वर न स्तुः ॥२९॥ त्वामाराध्य
द्व(चि)दशपतयो भुञ्जते राज्यलक्ष्मीं भिक्षाभुञ्जं तदपि च महादेवशब्दै(व्यै)क-
वाच्यः । [नैराश्रियं वरद]
- 23 परमेश्वर्यकोटिप्रतिष्ठं^८ तच्चेदस्ति त्वयि किमपरैः फलाभिः श्रीविलासैः^९ ॥३०॥ अस्थि-
शयिः पिब्वनभवं भस्म^{१०} भूषाङ्गरागः प्रीतिः^{११} प्रेतैस्त्वं सहचराः फेरवाः कीच
दीपः । यस्यैश्वर्यं परमपदवीं प्राप्य विश्रान्तमुच्चैस्तस्य श्रवाः कनकमय[वा
सर्वमेतत् संसा]-
- 24 नं(नम्)^{१२} ॥३१॥ आवासंस्ते पिब्वनमंहिः क्रीडनं धानमुच्चा भिक्षापात्रं हर नरशिरः^{१३}
कर्पूरं नैष दीपः । आरातीयस्त्रिनयन^{१४} भवत्यल्पसंख्यो हि^{१५} लोको निस्त्रैगुण्ये पथि
विचरतां को विधिः को निषेधः ॥३२॥ प्रेतावासः शयनमशनं [भैक्षमाश्राय वा]-
- 25 सः खट्वाङ्गं च ध्वजमुपहृ(हि)तं त्वस्मिन्नेपथ्यसङ्गे । यद्यथेवं तदपि भगवन्नीश्वरित्य-
स्य^{१६} नास्त्रो निःसामान्यस्त्वमसि विषयो नापरः कश्चिदस्ति ॥३३॥ दारूद्याने
हिजवरवधूपप्लवी रेतसाग्नौ होमः सन्ध्यानटनमिति ते चेष्टितं नैव दुष्टं(ष्टम्) ।
[मिथ्याज्ञानोप]-

^१ त्रिपथन (क, ग)^२ धूर्जटे (ग)^३ स्वर्गदीपारिपुरं (ग)^४ पिब्वनभवनम् (ग)^५ दुर्दिशगिरः (ग)^६ ईश इत्यस्य (ग)^७ दधति (ग)^८ देवेश (क)^९ प्रतिष्ठा (च)^{१०} प्रीतिः (ग)^{११} त्रिपथन (क, ग)^{१२} विगलद (ग)^{१३} पुरी (क)^{१४} श्रीविलासैः (क)^{१५} पलाशम् (ग)^{१६} संस्तीति (च)

- 26 हतमनसां मार्गमुल्लङ्घ्य दूरं ये निःक्रान्तिस्त्रिभुवनानि न तां तां लोकवादाः स्थ-
न्ति ॥३४॥ देवाः सर्वे दधति वसुधा भूषणं हेमरत्नं गुह्यमात्रं कनकमपि
ते^१ नास्ति कर्षे करे वा । मार्गातीतं स्फुरति स्रज्जं यस्य सौन्दर्यमङ्गे
तस्याहार्ये[वितरजनवना]-
- 27 दरः स्याद्गुणेषु ॥३५॥ त्वं ब्र(त्र)ह्मादिचिदशगुरुभिः पूजितः स्वार्थहेतोरित्याह्वयो न
खलु भवता प्रार्थितः कश्चिदन्यः । इच्छामात्रात्स्वयमुपनमन्त्यग्रतो यस्य भावा-
स्तस्यापेक्षा कथमिह भवेदीश्वरस्तेषु ॥३६॥ खण्डयन्तः शिरसि परशः
खण्डमे]-
- 28 वायुधन्ते भिक्षापात्रं द्रुहिणशिरसः खण्डमेकं कपालं(क्षम्) । खण्डप्रायस्तव परिकरी
यद्यपीत्यन्तथापि त्वं सर्वेषां स्मृतिमुपगतः^२ सर्वपूर्णत्वहेतुः ॥३७॥ पृथ्वीपीठे
‘कृतपदमदः स्वच्छमाकास(श)लिङ्गं’ तारापुष्पैः शिरसि रचिताभ्यर्चनं चन्द्रचूड ।
इत्थं भावाद]-
- 29 वह्नितधियो ये भवन्तं भजन्ते ते लीयन्ते त्वयि जलनिधौ निम्नगानामिवौघाः ॥३८॥
वाराणस्यां स्फुरति यदिदं देवदेवाविमुक्तं सै(शै)वं ज्योतिः सकलभुवनालोकना-
दर्शभूतं(तम्)^३ । कृत्वा तस्मिन्प्रमहसि पदे चेन्नसंन्यासयोगं [त्वय्ये]कत्वं ब्र[जति
पुरुषस्तेज]-
- 30 सौव प्रदीपः ॥३९॥ यत्पत्यक्षं सकलभुवनाख्यभूतं विभाति ज्योतिर्हिङ्गं कनककपिशं
अग्निरौ व्योम्नि दिव्यं(व्यम्) । तत्पश्यन्तः शिव सुकृतिनस्यक्तसंसारवन्ध्यास्वल्का-
रुष्याच्चिरगणपदप्राप्तिभाजो भवन्ति ॥४०॥
- 31 वाचाधीशं^४ हुतवहतनुं शक्तिपाणिं भवन्तं ये ध्यायन्ति त्रिनयनं^५ मनस्तेजसा निर्द्वन्द्व-
(तम्)^६ । गङ्गास्रोतःसदृश-
- 32 विलसद्दण्डपद्यप्रवाहैः^७ सद्यस्तेषां प्रसरति [मुखाद्वा]रती नात्र चित्रं(त्रम्) ॥४१॥
भास्वज्योतिःकिरणमरुणं [दक्षि]णेऽक्षि^८ स्थितं त्वां ये वीक्षन्ते पुरुषमुदितं^९
ख्यातं^{१०} मादित्यमूर्तिर्(र्त्तिम्) । ते सर्वत्राप्रतिहतदृशः सूर्यपर्यन्तलोकं पश्यन्त्ये
करतललुठत्वां[दुकस्यष्टरूपम्]

^१ त्रिनयन (क, ग)^२ विदग्धपतिभिः (ग)^३ भुवनादर्शनालोकभूतम् (ग)^४ वाचातीतं (ग) [Reading seems to be *vāchy-ātītam* (tan).—Ed.]^५ त्रिनयन (क, ग)^६ दक्षिणाक्षि (क)^७ कपिशं (ग)^८ चवगतः (ग)^९ [Probably the reading is^{१०} तल्लेजसां निर्वहन्तम् (ग)^{११} पुरुषद्वयं (ग)^{१२} तस्याहारेर्वित (ग)^{१३} कृतपदमपि स्वच्छमाकाशलिङ्गं (ग)

कारुण्या* [त] स्थिर—Ed.]

^{१४} प्रभावा (क)^{१५} श्यामं (ग)

- 33 ॥४२॥ ये ध्यायन्ति स्वहृदि विमलं चित्त^१भात्मैकरूपं विश्वादर्शं^२ प्रसरदभितो भूर्भुवः-
स्त्रिलोकी(कीम्)^३ । इत्थं गत्यागतिपरिचयात् तवैव प्रसादात्सर्वज्ञत्वं हर
विकारणीं शीलयन्ती लभन्ते^४ ॥४३॥ ये त्वां शंभो हृदयभवनानांभोरुहाभ्यन्तरस्थं
ज्ञान[ज्योतिस्तदुपधिव]-
- 34 शास्त्रीहिशुकायसूक्ष्मं(क्षमम्) । उद्दीचन्ते दृढतरलयं तेषुपाधिप्रणाशाच्चय्येकत्वं नभसि
कलशाकाशवनिर्विशन्ति ॥४४॥ अर्चिर्विद्युद्युतिभिरलं मार्गविश्रामलोके(कै)र्यं गच्छन्ति
चिनयन^५ पथा देवयानेन केचित् । भुक्त्वा भोगाननुपमरसान् स्वेच्छ[या ब्रह्म-
लोके]
- 35 ते तस्यान्ते पुनरपि शिव त्वन्मयत्वं भजन्ते ॥४५॥ यत्रानन्दः स्फुरति परमज्योति-
रालोकजन्मा भुज्यन्ते च स्वयमुपनता^७ यत्र दिव्याश्च भोगाः [१*] यत्रावृत्तिर्न
भवति पुनः पञ्चमाध्वप्रसिद्धं तद्देराजं^८ पदमपि शिव प्राप्यते त्वयसादात् ॥४६॥
त्वयात्मा[नं निहितम्]-
- 36 खिलैस्त्वद्गुणैः संप्रयुक्तं स्वच्छादर्शं मुखमिव चिरं चेतसा निश्चलेन । ये पश्यन्ति
चिनयन^९ मनोवाञ्छितार्थप्रसूतिस्तेषामाविर्भवति सुधियामेव^{१०} धर्मः समाधिः ॥४७॥
ज्ञानज्योतिः सकलजगतां स्व^{११}प्रकाशस्वरूपं त्वामात्मानं परिहितगुणस्पर्शमीशान-
मीले]
- 37 ^{१२}यच्चैकस्मिन्नवहितधियां^{१३} योगदृष्टिस्थितानां स्वच्छादर्शं प्रतिफलितवद्विश्मेतच्चकास्ति ॥४८॥
भूतं भूतस्मरणविषयं भावि^{१४} नान्यत्र काले सूक्ष्मं मध्यं क्षणमि^{१५}ह तयोर्वर्तमानं
वदन्ति । तस्मिन्सौख्यं कियदमतयो येन मत्ता^{१६} मनुष्या शु[भस्तेवां भव भ]-
- 38 वभयध्वन्नि(ध्वंसि)नीं नाद्रियन्ते ॥४९॥ ज्ञानं न स्यात्काचिदपि किल ज्ञेयसम्ब(संब)न्धशून्यं
ज्ञेयं सत्तामपि न लभते ज्ञानवा(वा)ह्यं कदाचित् । इत्यन्योन्यग्रथितमुभयोर्व्या-
पिकं यत्स्वरूपं^{१७} तत्ते प्राहुः प्रकृतिपुरुषस्वार्चनारीश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥५०॥ यद्यत्त्वं
न भवति नृणामि]-

^१ चित्तं (च)^४ भजन्ते (क)^७ उपगताः (ग)^{१०} सुधियामेवः (ग) [Reading seems to be सुधियात्ममे(ए)कः समाधिः—Ed.]^{११} सुप्रकाश (ग)^{१३} धिया (ग)^{१६} मित्राः (ग)^२ विश्वादर्शं (ग)^५ ज्ञानज्योतिः (ग)^८ तद्देराज्यं (च)^३ त्रिलोकान् (ग)^६ त्रिधयन (क, ग)^९ त्रिधयन (क, ग)^{१२} There is a sign of visarga before this danda.^{१४} भावि नास्ति काले (ग)^{१५} इव (ग)^{१७} यत्स्वरूपं (ग)

- 39 न्द्रियाणामशक्तेर्यत्स्व(त्वं)म्यग्रहणविरहान्नानुमेयं च किञ्चि(किञ्चि)त्¹ । शब्दा(ब्दा)दीनामपि न विषयं यत्परोक्षस्वरूपं ज्ञानज्योतिर्यदिह परमं सत्त्व(च्च)मध्यात्ममूर्तिः² ॥५१॥ त्वासात्मानं वरद परमानन्दबो(बो)धस्वरूपं ये वु(वु)ध्यन्ते³ विगलितजगद्देमायाप्र-पञ्चम् । रागत्यागात्]
- 40 स्तिमितमनसो देव जीवन्त एव [भ्रश्य]न्माया⁴निविडनिगडग्रंथयस्ते विमुक्ताः ॥५२॥
⁵स्नाध्यं⁶यत्तत्कृपि(प)णमनसां⁷ससलोकाधिपत्यं या⁸मृग्यंते तरलमतिभिः सिद्धयन्ना-णिमाद्याः । एतत्सर्वं मदनदहन त्वत्पदप्राप्तिभाजां तत्त्व(च्च)ज्ञानामृत[सजुषां⁹ योगि]-
- 41 नासन्तरायः ॥५३॥¹⁰आशा वासः शयनमवनिर्ग(र्ग)ह्यचर्यं च दीर्घं मौनं दण्डग्रहणम-शनं भिक्षया भक्ष्य शौचं(चम्) । वैराग्यञ्च चिनयन¹¹ भवत्तत्त्वबो(त्वबो)धाद्विहीनं मूलादेवं ध्रुवमलवणं सर्वमेतद्विभाति ॥५४॥ स्थित्वा कालं चिरतरमपि ब्र(व्र)-ह्मशक्रादि[लोकैः कर्म]-
- 42 च्छेदात्पुनरपि ततः स्यादवश्यं निपातः । एकां नित्यं पदमुपगतः¹² लेशकर्मोर्भिषाकं शैवं ज्योतिर्यदिह सुलभं ज्ञानयोगेन पुष्पां(पुंसाम्) ॥५५॥ शक्रादीनां क्रतुफल-यु(जु)षां यत्सुखं नाकलोकै¹³ तत्कौटादेर्नरकनिलयस्यापि तुल्यं विभाति । येनै-कान्तं]-
- 43 न भवति सुखं कस्यचिन्नापि¹⁴ दुःखं हृदग्रस्थं त्रिभुवनमिदं त्वं तु तस्माद्विमुक्तः ॥५६॥ व(व)म्यच्छेदादिह तनुभृतां यत्त्वया साकमेकं सा चेन्मुक्तिः शिव किम-नया यातु यद्वाभ्यकूपं(पम्) । त्वं मे स्वामी भवदनुचरः शर्व यत्सर्वदाहं तच्च स्नाध्यं स्वपति[पदवीं काम]-
- 44 यन्ते न भ्रूयाः ॥५७॥ वातोद्भूतस्फुटपुटकिनीपञ्चतोयोपमाने को विश्वासं व्रजति चपले जन्मिनी जीवितेस्मिन् ।¹⁵कान्तस्त्रीणां प्रियसहचरैर्निर्वर्णरालङ्कितं मे चेतः शम्भो स्वपिति न यथा तत्प्रसादं¹⁶ कुरुष्व ॥५८॥ त्वन्नेत्राग्नि¹⁷व्यतिकरमिव प्रा[क्तनं पुण्यचा]-

¹ कदाचित् (अ, क, ग)² मूर्ते (ग)³ ग reads वे वुध्यन्ते etc., as third quarter and रागत्यागात् etc., as second quarter.⁴ निगलनिविड (अ, क)⁵ ग reads this stanza as 60th stanza.⁶ जन्तोः लपणमनसः (ग)⁷ सर्वं (अ)⁸ वे (ग)⁹ सृजा (ग)¹⁰ ग reads this stanza as 62nd stanza.¹¹ उपनतक्षेत्र (ग, म)¹² नाकलोकैः (ग)¹³ त्रिषयन (क, ग)¹⁴ [Reading seems to be आत(अन्त)कुशाग्र(त्रि)यसहचरी etc.—Ed.]¹⁵ नास्ति (अ, क, ग)¹⁶ सुतिशरमयं (ग)¹⁷ तत्प्रसादं (अ, क)

- 45 पः ।¹ स्मृत्वा नूनं व्यवसितमतिर्वैरनिर्यातनाय । यसन्मत्संज्ञं तव चरणयोर्देव
सेवानुरागात्तस्मै चेतः प्रहरति शरैस्त्र्यक्ष तद्रक्ष यत्नात् ॥५८॥ भिक्षापात्रं शृग-
जमजिनं जीर्णकौपीनमेकं कथा रथानिपतितजरञ्जीरलेष्टैश्च लघ्वी । एतावा-
[स्मै हर परिक]-
- 46 रस्वत्सादेन नित्यं भूयाद्भूयस्तव चरणयोर्भूयसी भक्तिरेका ॥६०॥ देवस्तावद्भवति
भगवन्मर्गसर्गस्य सारस्तस्मात्पूर्वं महदिति पदं प्रोक्तमुत्कर्षमाह । माहात्म्यं ते
स्मरहर महादेव नास्मैव लोके दूरारूढं वरद किमहं स्तोत्रमन्यत्करोमि
॥[६१॥² कालेन]
- 47 नीतः³ सर्वोपि पुनरावर्तते जनः । महाकालेन नीतस्य नावृत्तिर्विद्यते पुनः ॥६२॥
अव्यक्ताच्चरज्यितैरपि शिशोः प्रीतिर्गुरुणां भवेत्तेनास्मद्वचनं मलीमसमपि स्यात्तु-
ष्टिहेतुस्तव । आन्तस्वङ्गुणकौर्त्तनात्किमपि यत्पुण्यं मयोपा[र्जितं तेन]
- 48 स्याज्जनान्तरपि महती त्वय्येव भक्तिर्मम ॥६३॥⁴ द्विजो दक्षिणराष्ट्रीयो नवग्रामवि-
निर्गतः । हलायुधवु(वु)धश्शश्वोरिमां स्तुतिमरीरचत् ॥६४॥

¹ *Daṇḍa unnecessary.*² *सर्गसर्गस्य (न)*³ च, क, and ग read the following two stanzas as 62nd and 63rd stanzas and कालेन नीतः, etc., as 64th stanza :—

यत् त्वचिद्भवत् देव मनुष्यतिर्यग्योनौ स्वकर्मपरिपाकवशात् प्रसूतिः ।
तव स्मितस्य मम बालव्याकुली खयादभक्तिरचलासु भवन्मसादात् ॥
तव चरणसरोजं दत्तमेकं प्रपूजं फलति जलधिवेलावेष्टितां भूतधात्रीम् ।
प्रतिदिवससपर्याभक्तिकौतूहलानां फलमिदमिति शश्वो शक्यते केन वक्तुम् ॥

⁴ This syllable should ordinarily be short.⁵ स्नात् (क)⁶ क adds the following before द्विजो दक्षिण etc. :—

महाकालवनं सेवे कदाचिद्वलमिच्छया ।
संसारधमणीपितृश्रापमयने क्षमा ॥
अट्टहासमहाकालसितलोवै(१)दये ततः ।

यतः कारयमुत्पत्तिरुपचारैः प्रवर्तते ॥

and reads the stanza द्विजो दक्षिण etc., slightly modified :

द्विजो दक्षिणराष्ट्रीयो नवग्रामविनिर्गतः ।

हलायुधमिदं शश्वोरिमां स्तुतिमवययत् ॥

D.11271 (च) adds the following stanza before द्विजो दक्षिण etc. :—

महाकालेन सेव्यत्वात्मानोद्दिन विरक्तया ।

संसारोद्धतदेहस्य स्वरूपयुक्तं क्षमम् ॥

and reads the stanza द्विजो दक्षिण etc., slightly modified :—

द्विजो दक्षिणराष्ट्रीयो नवग्रामविनिर्गतः ।

हलायुधवुधः शश्वोरिमां स्तुतिमरीरचत् ॥

No. 18.—A NOTE ON THE HALAYUDHA STOTRA IN THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., OOTACAMUND.

There are several Sanskrit *stōtras* engraved on the side walls of the *ardhamandapa* in the Amareśvara Temple at Māndhātā, which were copied by me early in 1938. The northern wall contains three of these, viz., (1) a *stōtra* in 8 lines and 9 verses in praise of the river Narmadā, (2) the well known Śiva-Mahimna-*stōtra* in 40 verses taking up 22 lines and (3) a single verse in 3 lines in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī. The main record on the southern wall contains the text of the *Halāyudha-stōtra*. Several manuscripts of this *stōtra* are preserved in the Government Oriental Library at Madras (Nos. 11271-11278), some of which are with commentaries in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese. I have already noticed these records in the *Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India*, for the year 1937-38 in the chapter on Epigraphy. Though Hiralal¹ noticed all these records as unimportant, I found the colophon of the *Halāyudha-stōtra* to be of sufficient interest for the history of Sanskrit literature, and as the *stōtra* has not yet been published, I requested my friend Vidyāsāgara Vidyāvāchaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Śāstri, Professor of Sanskrit in the Madras Presidency College and honorary Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, to undertake to edit the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*—a request to which he readily responded. This note only supplements the information contained in his introduction to the text edited above. I have also given below the text of ll. 48-56 of the record which Professor Śāstri has omitted as it is not relevant to the *Halāyudha-stōtra*.

The whole record is in 56 lines, and is engraved on four rectangular slabs of stone fixed into the wall on the southern side. The first slab contains 10 lines, the second 21 lines, the third 22 lines and the fourth only 3 lines of writing. The last lines of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th slabs (i.e., ll. 31, 53 and 56) are only half lines. A few letters at the end of each complete line are now missing but wherever possible these have been restored from manuscripts now preserved in the Government Oriental Library. The script is Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit throughout. The engraving is rather shallow but on the whole well executed. There are a number of grammatical and other errors, particularly in the portion which is the writer's own composition. All these have been noticed in footnotes or in the body of the text. These mistakes show that the writer, though he calls himself a Pandit, was not well versed in Sanskrit.

The record opens with the phrase *Om namaḥ Śivāya* which is immediately followed by the *Halāyudha-stōtra* in praise of Śiva. The *stōtra* actually finishes in v. 63, the last verse being a colophon containing an account of the author of the hymn. This is immediately followed by another hymn (ll. 48-50) in 5 verses the text of which is identical with that found in the *Śiva-dvādaśanāma-stōtra*² and gives the 12 principal names of Śiva. Then comes a verse enumerating five *jyōtirliṅgas*, viz., those at Avimukta (Benares) and Kādāra, besides Ōmkāra, Amara and Mahākāla (at Ujjayini). It may be noted here that though the names of Ōmkāra and Amara have been given separately, the eight other great *liṅgas* have been omitted in this list.

Lines 51-53 give the names of a few Śaiva teachers in the following terms: In the city of Bhōja, living in the Sōmēśvaradēva monastery and hailing from Nandīyaḍa was the Pāsupata teacher Bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvavālmika whose disciple was Bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvasamudra. L. 53 mentions also Paṇḍita Bhāvavirīnchi. Apparently the two mentioned last were responsible for setting up the records found on these four slabs. The next two lines contain an account of the

¹ *List of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151.

² See *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras*, Nos. 9259-9261.

writer, Paṇḍita Gāndhadvaja of the Chapala-gōtra. He was a disciple of Vivēkarāśi who was again a disciple of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka śrī-Supūjitarāśi.

The last line contains the date, undoubtedly of the setting up of the record, which I have read as *Samvat 111 jṛṇ Kārttika vadi 13*. The reading of the second digit is, however, uncertain which may also be read as 2. The same date is given at the end of the *Mahimna-stava* found engraved on the northern wall which was also written by the same Paṇḍita mentioned there as Gandhadvaja, and also at the end of the Narmadā-stōtra, without giving the month and the *tiṭhi* in both the places. But in these instances also the second digit is not clear. Unfortunately the date cannot be verified for want of sufficient details. If the year is 1120 the date would ordinarily correspond to Friday, the 21st November, A.D. 1063 and if read as 1220 the corresponding date in Christian era would be Sunday, the 27th October, A.D. 1163, taking the year as Chaitrādi and the month *pūrṇimānta* in both cases.

I have in the *Annual Report* referred to above discussed in detail the identity of the poet Halāyudha and also of Dēchaya who wrote a commentary on this stōtra in the sixteenth century A.D. I have shown there that the Halāyudha of our record could not be any of the three scholars of the same name mentioned by Mr. J. C. Ghosh,¹ all of whom flourished during the reign of the Śēna kings of Bengal. Prof. Śāstrī has now adduced an additional proof that undoubtedly the same Halāyudha has been referred to in the Telugu *Dvīpada Basavapurāṇa*² of Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha who lived towards the end of the twelfth century. I have also suggested in the same place that our Halāyudha may be identical with the author of the *Kavirahasya*, the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and the *Mṛtasāñjivani*, the last mentioned being a commentary on Piṅgala's *Chhandahsūtra*. It need not worry us that the first named work was written in the court of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja III (A.D. 939-967) and the last mentioned work in the court of a different ruler, viz., the Paramāra Muñja-Vākpati (A.D. 974-993), as it is quite possible that the poet after the death of his Rāshtrakūṭa patron moved to the Paramāra court which was noted for its patronage for learning at that time. Mr. Ghosh has identified Navagrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha with the village of the same name in the Bhurshut *pargaṇā* of the Hooghly District in Bengal.³ We cannot argue that it is not possible for a poet hailing from far off Bengal to be at the courts of two prominent Indian rulers, one having his capital at Mālkhed in the Nizām's Dominions and the other at Dhār in Central India, when we know of several other scholars from Bengal who held a similar position.⁴

L. 51 of the record mentions Bhōjanagara and a monastery there known as Sōmēśvaradēva-maṭha. One is tempted to identify Bhōjanagara with Dhārā, the capital city of the Paramāras and the monastery with an establishment built probably by the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I who for a time occupied the Paramāra kingdom. But it is to be remembered that the capital city of the Paramāras is always referred to as Dhārā even at the time of Bhōja and his successors also continued to use the same name. It is not also certain whether the *maṭha* was built by a ruler called Sōmēśvaradēva or was simply attached to a temple of Śiva known as Sōmēśvara. I am also not able to identify Namdiyaḍa, the original residence of the Śaiva ascetic Bhāvavālmika.

¹ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 503 ff.

² According to this work Halāyudha belonged to Navapura which is apparently the same as Navagrāma of our record, see *Basavapurāṇamu* (Andhra-granthamālā series), p. 127.

³ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 503. Bhurshut is the ancient Bhūrisrēsthī in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha where Śrīdhara Bhūrisrēsthīka of the *Prabodhachandrodaya* of Kṛishṇamiśra (11th century), which is stated to be the birth-place of 'Abankāra'. This leaves no doubt that the place was well known in the 10th and 11th centuries.

⁴ See *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 702 and Vol. II, pp. 380 f. See also the Kollagallu Inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛōṭiga (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 200 ff.) which mentions a Gadādhara of Taḍā-grāma in Bengal.

TEXT.

- 48 Prathamam tu¹ Mahādēvam dvitīyam cha Mahēśvaram(ram)| tri(tri)tīyam Śaṅkaram
jñeyam² chaturtham Vṛishabhadhvajam(jam) ||1||[*] Pañchamam Kṛi(ttvāsam cha sha*)³.
- 49 shṭham Kāmāṅganāśanam(nam) [*] saptamam Dēvadēvēsam⁴ Śrīkaṇṭham ch=āshṭamam
smṛitam(tam)⁵ ||2||[*] Navamam Īsvaram⁶ dēvam⁷ daśamam Pārvatīpriyam(yam) [*]
Rudram=ēkādaśam nāma dvādaśam Śivam=uchyatē ||3||[*] Dvādaś=aitāni⁸ nāmāni ubhayē
samdhyat yaḥ paṭhēt⁹ [*] gōghnaḥ kṛitaghnas=ch=aiva vra(bra)hmahā guru-talpakah¹⁰
||4||[*] Strī-vā(bā)la-ghātakaś=ch=aiva*)¹¹.
- 50 surāpayi¹¹ vṛishali-patiḥ¹² ||[*] muchyatē sarvva-pāpēbhyō Rudra-lōkam¹³ sa gachchhati
||5||[*] Avimuktaś=cha Kēdāra Omkāraś=ch=Āmaras=tathā ||[*] pañchamam(mas=) tu
Mahākālāḥ pañcha-liṅgāḥ prakīrtayē¹⁴ ||6||[*] Ajñānā[d*]=jñānatō vā=pi yad=viruddham=
anushṭhitam(tam) | tat=sarvvaḥ paśu-bhūpasya kshantavyam kāraṇ-ēśvara ||7||[*]¹⁵.
- 51 Svasti [*] Śrī-Bhōja-nagarē śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-maṭha-nivāsi Namdiyaḍa-vinirggatam-(taḥ)
praṇāma-gōtra-yama-niyama-samja(ya)ma-svādhyāya - dhyān - ānushṭhāna - rata - parama-
Pāsupat-āchārya-bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bhāvavālmika[h*] śrī-Amarēśvaradēv(va)-trailōky-
ādhipatiḥ(tēḥ) dhyāna-puṇya-sa -¹⁶
- 52 ētat(ch)-si(chhi)shya i[shṭ-ādhi]ka-pradāna-rata-triḥ(tri)kāla-samdhyā(dhyā)-samādhi-
karaṇa-guru-pūraparya-vidhāna-yukta[h*] śrī-Amarēśvaradēva-pāda-paṅkaja-bhramara
ādhvina(ādhvanika ?)-pathasrā(śrā)nta-tapōdhan-ābhyāgat-ālaya¹⁷ - - samtāpaḥ ||¹⁸
- 53 śrī-Amarēśvaradēva-vīkshaṇa-mūrtti-sadā-nivāsi bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bhāvasamudraḥ || paṇḍita-
Bhāvavirīnchi[h*] praṇamati Śivāḥ(vam)||
- 54 || Om¹⁹ svasti||[*] Śrī-Amarēśvara-dēvasy=āyatan[ē] trailōkya-vīrut[ē] sthānē dēva-dānava-
dur[jīya]-dēva-guru-na(ta)pōdhata(na)-su(śu)śrūṣhā-rata-paramabhāṭṭāraka-śrī-Supū-
- 55 jitarāsi(śiḥ) [*] etat(ch)-si(chhi)shya-Vivēkarāsi(śiḥ) [*] punaḥ tasya sishya(śishyēṇa)
Chapalagōtra-vinirggata-sahaja-bhakti-śānta-mūrtti-paṇḍita-Gāndhadhvajēna parama-
bhaktyā mahimna²⁰ Ha-
- 56 lāyudha-stutiḥ ātmasy=ārthō²¹ svayam likhitam=iti || Samvat 1[1]20 Kārttika-vadi 13||[*]
Maṅgalam mahāśrīḥ || ||

² M. nāma.

¹ M. cha (M. denotes Ms. No. 9260 in the Govt. Or. Manuscripts Library, Madras).

³ Restored from M.

⁴ M. Dēvadēvam cha.

⁵ Read Navamam=1°.

⁶ M.=aitāni.

⁷ M. brahmagnō guru-talpakah.

⁸ M. surā-pān-ādi-pātakaḥ.

⁹ Read prakīrtitāḥ.

¹⁰ These two letters are illegible. A few letters after these also appear to have been missing.

¹¹ There is some space between tā and la but this portion seems to have been left un-engraved owing to a damage

in the stone.

¹² Daṇḍas unnecessary.

¹³ Apparently intended for Śiva-mahimnō.

¹⁴ M. Nīlakaṇṭham=ath=āshṭamam.

¹⁵ M. nāma.

¹⁶ Read as in M. tri-sandhyam yaḥ paṭhēn=naraḥ.

¹⁷ Read surāpō.

¹⁸ M. Śivalōkam.

¹⁹ Metre of verses 1-7 is Anushṭubh.

²⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

²¹ Read alma-śrēyōrthō.

No. 19.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These copper-plates which were in the possession of a peasant of the village Nūtimadugu in the Anantapur District were shown to Mr. C. N. Jeevanna Rao, B.E., Minor Irrigation Supervisor of the District, when he had gone to the village during one of his periodical official visits. It appears that while the cattle-shed attached to the house of the peasant was being repaired, the plates were found buried under the lower wooden hinge of the door of the shed. Mr. Rao kindly brought them to the notice of Mr. M. Srikanta Strouty, B.E., Local Fund Assistant Engineer, Anantapur, who sent them on to me for examination. As they were somewhat corroded when I got them, they were sent to the Archaeological Chemist in India who was good enough to clean them. I edit them below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are three in number each of which is $5\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and $9\frac{1}{4}$ " in length from the centre of the arch at the top. They are strung together on a copper ring which did not bear any seal when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It was found that the ring had not been soldered. So it is difficult to say definitely whether this is the original ring which held the plates when they were issued; it is not impossible that the original ring to which the royal seal was attached, might have been lost and the present ordinary ring substituted in its place. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing. The weight of the plates, with the ring, is 116 *tolas*.

At the outset it must be observed that the set of plates is a palimpsest containing two records, one, an Eastern Chālukya grant of the 10th century A.D. and the other, which has been engraved over the earlier inscription, of the time of the Vijayanagara prince Triyambaka. I am unable to explain the circumstances under which the original Chālukya document was used by prince Triyambaka of the first or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara for writing his own charter more than five centuries after the original was engraved and why it was defaced and a new one incised upon it.

Of the original Eastern Chālukya grant which I shall call A, both the beginning and the end are missing. The extant portion starts on the first side of the second plate of the Vijayanagara grant (hereafter called B) and after being continued on its second side and on the first (outer) side of the first plate ends on the second side of the latter, after giving the name of the king and the geographical division in which the donated village or land was situated. The portion which must have contained the details of the gift such as the name, *gōtra*, family, etc., of the donee, the name of the village or land granted and its boundaries, the date of the grant and the imprecatory verses, is lost. This must have been engraved on a separate plate which was probably removed at the time when the Vijayanagara grant was engraved and the third plate of the present set which is altogether a new one inserted in its place. Both the plates of the earlier grant are inscribed lengthwise like all Eastern Chālukya grants. It should be noted that these two plates have been slightly cut out at both the corners on the top (i.e., on the left-hand side when held lengthwise) in order to give them the shape of an arch like all Vijayanagara copper-plate grants. During this process some letters in each line have been lost. The later grant was engraved upon three of the four sides of the earlier one. Even on the side that was not defaced by being again written upon (i.e., the first side of the first plate of B) a portion on the right-hand side is damaged by corrosion and some of the letters cannot be read. On the second side of the second plate of B, only half the portion of the original document has been written upon and the letters on the other half, though well beaten, are visible and can be read. Of the remaining portion of the inscription only faint traces are seen, but with the help of the other grants of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty I have succeeded in

deciphering to a great extent the preserved portion of the record. The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the 10th century A.D. and the language of the extant portion is Sanskrit.

In spite of the shortcomings noted above this inscription (A) which refers itself to the reign of Vikramāditya (II) is valuable as it is the first and only record of the king yet discovered. As pointed out above, its beginning, which must have been written on a plate which does not now form part of the set, is missing. The first king mentioned is Jayasimhavalabha (i.e., Jayasinha I) who, as in all other records of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, is given a reign of thirty years. Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty recording the length of each reign, down to Vikramāditya (II) who is introduced in the usual prose preamble to the grant (ll. 25—27) with the *birudas* of *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēstara*, *Paramabhaktāraka* and *Paramabrahmayya*. He issues a command to the *Rāshtrakūṭas* and others inhabiting the *Kaṇḍērvvāḍi-vishaya*. The name of this *vishaya* occurs in different forms as *Kaṇḍēruvāḍi*, *Kaṇḍēruvāṭi*, *Kaṇḍēruvāḍi* and *Kaṇḍravāḍi* in several Eastern Chālukya inscriptions and its chief town *Kaṇḍēru*, after which the district was named, has been identified with *Kantēru* in the Guntur District.¹ The grant portion which was recorded next and the date, if it was given, are lost thus depriving us of some valuable facts.

No information of any historical importance that is not already known can be gathered about the predecessors of the donor, viz., king Vikramāditya II. Attention may, however, be drawn to the length of reign assigned to Vijayāditya II, the builder of 108 temples of Nareṇḍrēśvara. He is here stated to have reigned only for 40 years as in the majority of the Eastern Chālukya copper-plate grants. The verses describing the reign of Vikramāditya (II) are new and not found in any other record of the family so far known. The first of them states that he regained the ancestral throne which had been forcibly seized by Tāla after killing him. The verses that follow praise his prowess in war in a conventional style, but one interesting fact which one of them (v. 5) discloses is that he fought one hundred battles for eight years and took the kingdom (from his enemies) along with Fame. But it is not possible to say whether this refers to his fight with Tāla or to another war as a result of which he made some conquests and extended his kingdom. If by the expression *rājyaṁ kīrtiyā samam=agrahī*, his obtaining the ancestral kingdom is meant we would get an idea of the period of time that was taken by Vikramāditya in regaining the throne from Tāla. No doubt the Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Ammarāja II tells us that Vikramāditya (II) slew "at the head of a rough battle this Tāla-rāja together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (and) had troops of furious elephants"². It is, however, not certain whether Vikramāditya was engaged in fighting Tāla and his allies after Tāla became king. But all the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions assign to Tāla a reign of only one month. If, however, the rival claimants were engaged in warfare for eight years, it is difficult to guess who ruled the country during this long interval between the period after the ejection of Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta by Tāla, and the time when the latter succeeded temporarily in seizing the Chālukya throne. No clue to such an interregnum is available from any of the Chālukya records. The question can be solved only by future discoveries.

Of inscription B the second plate is written on both sides, the first and third being written on the inner side only. But the lower half of the second side of the second plate and the upper half of the third plate are left blank. The plates are numbered one, two and three respectively in Kannaḍa numerals. The record, like many other grants of the Vijayanagara kings, is written in Nandināgarī characters except the sign-manual *śrī-Triyambaka* in line 68 which is in

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 56.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 55.

Kannaḍa-Telugu script. The alphabet employed is regular for the period to which the record purports to belong and closely resembles that of the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mallikārjuna¹ dated Śaka 1384, and the Śrīsaṁgam plates of Virūpākṣa of Śaka 1388.² The language is Sanskrit and excepting the words *śrī-Gaṇādhipataye namaḥ* in the beginning of l. 1 and *śrī-Triyambaka* in the last line the whole inscription is in verse. Many faults common to Vijayanagara grants such as mistakes of spelling, dropping of *anuvāra* or *visarga*, using them in places where they are unnecessary and omissions of letters, are found in this one also. As they have been corrected in the body of the text or in foot-notes it is not necessary to notice them here in detail.

The record is important as it is the second known grant of the *Yuvarāja Triyambaka*; the only other inscription of this prince is published in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1925,³ though its importance had not been recognised or discussed. The genealogical portion from *Saṅgama* down to *Triyambaka* is common to both the grants. Opening with invocations to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa respectively, the present grant mentions the Moon and his descendant *Yadu* who ruled the earth. The following genealogy is then given :—



The epigraph further proceeds to state that after *Triyambaka*'s father had gone to heaven, *Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra* (i.e., *Mallikārjuna*⁴) became king. Verses 15 to 17 tell us that he bore the paramount titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Rājaparamēśvara* and give a list of the king's *birudas*—the usual epithets of the Vijayanagara kings of the first dynasty. He is stated in verse 18 to have anointed his elder brother *Triyambaka* as *Yuvarāja*. This prince who was also called *Chikkaḍeya* was established (as Governor) at *Ghanādri* (i.e., *Penugonda*) by the king (v. 19).

The object of the inscription is to record that while Prince *Triyambaka* was governing his province (of *Ghanādri*) he granted the village of *Bommeḥāḷu*, renaming it as *Lakṣmīpura*, after the name of his mother, to the Brāhman *Māchivōkta*, son of *Vallabhōkta* of the *Śuklayajuśākhā* on Monday, the full-moon day of *Kārttika* in the cyclic year *Yuva*, the Śaka year being 1377 which is expressed by the numerical words *dhātu* (7) *adri* (7) *guṇa* (3) and *bhū*(1). The date is slightly irregular as the full-moon day of *Kārttika* in the year cited fell on Saturday, the

¹ Above, Vol. XVI, plate between pp. 350 and 351.

² Above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 22.

³ Pp. 98 ff.

⁴ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Seringapatam 89 and Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 497.

25th October A.D. 1455. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the engraver might have written Sōmavāra by mistake for Saurivāra; or it is not impossible that, while the grant was actually made on Saturday, it was recorded on Monday and this latter day was cited by mistake. The donee is stated to have been well versed in *Vēdas* and *Sūtras* and to have mastered the science of polity (*nīti-sāstra*). The *Yuvārāja* made the grant in the presence of god Triyambaka at *Bhāskarakshētra* (i.e., Hampi). The donated village Bommehālū was situated in *Paṇḍemēru-māgaṇi*, which was a sub-division of *Guṭṭi-rājya* in the *valita* (district) of *Penugonḍa*. After the imprecatory verses the record closes with the signature of the *Yuvārāja* Triyambaka.

The donor *Yuvārāja* Triyambaka is known, as already stated, only from two records (including the one under publication) and not noticed in any of the genealogies of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara so far published. From vv. 11—12 of the present record we learn that he was the son of *Dēvarāya*. But the most interesting fact revealed by our inscription is that he was the elder brother of the king *Immaḍi-Praṇḍha-Dēvēndra* (i.e., *Mallikārjuna*). If he was actually the elder brother, how could his younger brother *Mallikārjuna* succeed to the throne? The question can be answered in two ways; one is to consider that *Mallikārjuna*, who ascended the throne after the death of *Triyambaka's* father, was the son of the *paṭṭa-mahishī* (senior queen) and *Triyambaka*, though older in age, was the son of a junior queen and that consequently the throne passed on to *Mallikārjuna* after his father's death. The second is to regard *Mallikārjuna* and *Triyambaka* as sons of brothers, that is to say, *Mallikārjuna* belonged to the senior line and *Triyambaka* to the junior line, for it is quite common among Hindus to address and mention cousins as brothers.¹ This raises an important issue, viz., if *Mallikārjuna* and *Triyambaka* were actual brothers, were they the children of *Dēvarāya II* or his younger brother *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya*? From the use of the epithet *praṇḍha-pratāpa-vibhavaḥ* which is applied in the present grant to *Dēvarāya*, the father of *Triyambaka*, it would appear that they were the sons of *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya*, who is considered by some scholars to have had the distinctive title of *Praṇḍha-Pratāpa*.² From the inscription under publication we learn that *Immaḍi-Praṇḍha-Dēvēndra* became king after the death of *Triyambaka's* father who, if *Triyambaka* and *Mallikārjuna* were brothers, would also be the father of the latter. This would mean that the father of the brothers i.e., *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya*, the younger brother of *Dēvarāya II*, was the predecessor of *Mallikārjuna* on the throne of Vijayanagara. And in support of this conclusion it may be argued that some inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of a certain Vijaya and bear dates later than the death of *Dēvarāya II* (A.D. 1446)³ might have been issued by *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya*, who is known from an inscription⁴ to have had the surname of *Vijaya*. But there is one serious objection to this theory. *Abdur Razak*, who was an envoy from Persia to the court of *Dēvarāya II*, and who had an audience with him has recorded that the younger brother (*Pratāpa*) was killed in A.D. 1443, i.e., 3 years before the death of his elder brother.⁵ And there appears to be no reason to doubt the veracity of the statement of this contemporary writer. If, however, *Mallikārjuna* and *Triyambaka* were the sons of *Dēvarāya II* this difficulty would not arise. But in this case we would have to admit that *Dēvarāya II*, the father and predecessor of *Immaḍi-Praṇḍha-Dēvēndra* was also described as *praṇḍha-pratāpa-vibhava*. This expression, then, is to be regarded as either being used indiscriminately as a *bitūda* both of *Dēvarāya II* and his younger brother *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya* or, that it was not a *bitūda* and had no

¹ As it is not known from any source that *Mallikārjuna* was nominated as the successor to his father in preference to his elder brother, this alternative is not considered here.

² Above, Vol. XVII, p. 195.

³ *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1907-08, p. 351.

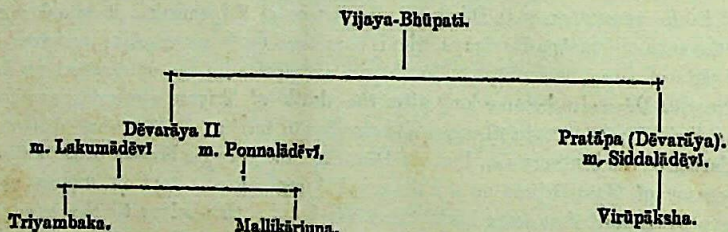
⁴ *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1921, p. 30.

⁵ *Sewell: A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 73 ff.

special significance but was merely a descriptive epithet. This view is further strengthened by the fact that while all the known copper-plate grants of Virūpāksha, besides stating that his father was Pratāpa, contain a reference to Pratāpa's elder brother (i.e., Dēvarāya II), Mallikārjuna's copper-plate records mention only his father Dēvarāya II. We have also inscriptions¹ of Dēvarāya II where he is described as *prauḍha-pratāpa-prakaṣita-mahimā* or *prauḍha-pratāpa-vibhavaḥ*. If this surmise is accepted, the inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya, after the date of the death of Dēvarāya II, will have to be attributed, as suggested by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri,² to Mallikārjuna himself.

Now let us examine the possibility of taking Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as cousins, the latter being the son of a junior member of the line though older in age than the former. As pointed out above, according to our inscription Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvendra (i.e., Mallikārjuna) succeeded Triyambaka's father Dēvarāya after the latter's death. In other words Mallikārjuna (who belonged to the senior line) succeeded his uncle. Since Dēvarāya II is not known to have had more than one brother who was variously called Pratāpa, Dēvarāya and Śrīgiri, it follows that Pratāpa did reign at least for sometime after the death of his elder brother. But this surmise again comes into conflict with the definite statement of Abdur Razak who was a contemporary of Dēvarāya.

It, therefore, appears to me that the most satisfactory solution of the problem is to consider both Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka, as the sons of Dēvarāya II from two different queens and that Mallikārjuna, being the son of the *paṭṭa-mahishī* (senior queen) ascended the throne after his father. As a matter of fact, we know that Mallikārjuna's mother was Ponnalādēvī³; and Triyambaka's mother was Lakumādēvī. If this view is correct the order of descent of the princes of this family from Vijaya-Bhūpati downwards would be as shown below :—



Attention may be drawn to another interesting fact revealed by the inscription, namely, that Triyambaka had the surname Chikkodeya. Nuniz mentions after Dēvarāya II a prince named Pinaro who was assassinated.⁴ If we could rely upon this writer's account—in many places his statements are inaccurate—there would be no impossibility in considering Chikkodeya to be identical with Pinaro, the latter name being but a Telugu variant of the Kannaḍa form Chikkodeya.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription it is well known that Bhāskara-kshāstra is Hampi (Bellary District) which was the capital of the Vijayanagara kings. The donated village Bommehālu may be identified with Bommepartī situated at a distance of seven miles from Anantapur. Gutti, after which the division Gutti-rājya was named, is Gooty, the headquarters of a taluk in the Anantapur District. Ghanādri is the Sanskritized form of Penu-gonḍa which is also the headquarters of another taluk in the same district. It was from the

¹ See e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Chitaldroog 29 and *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.

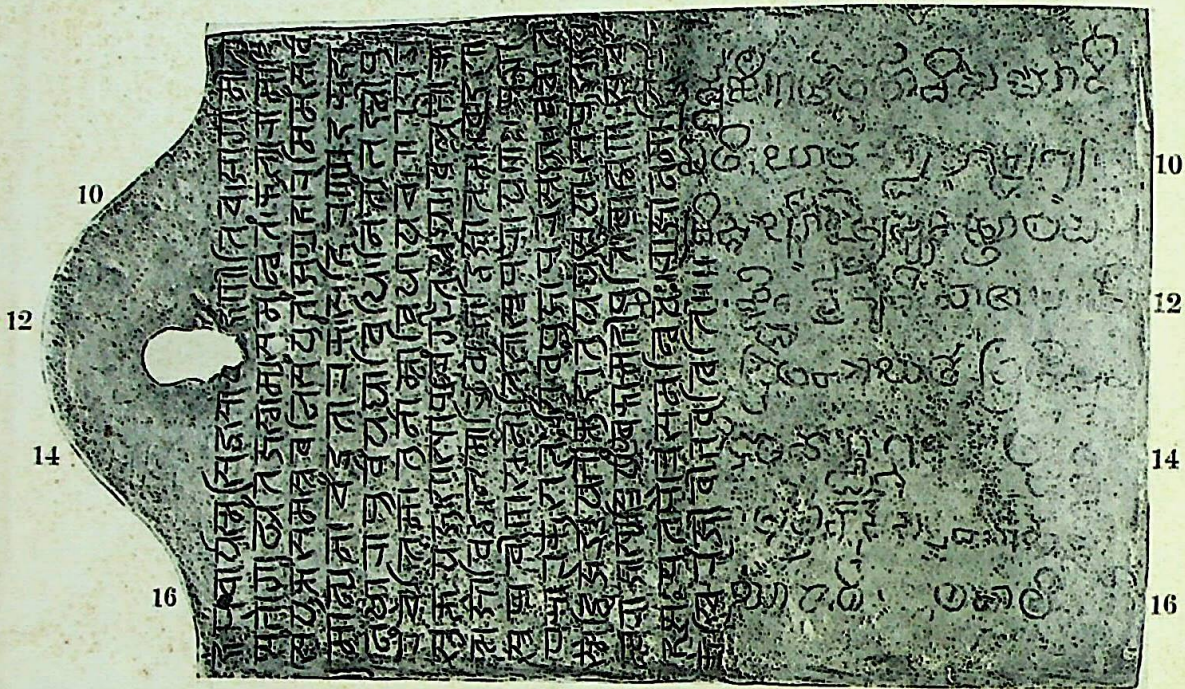
² *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1907-08, p. 246.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.

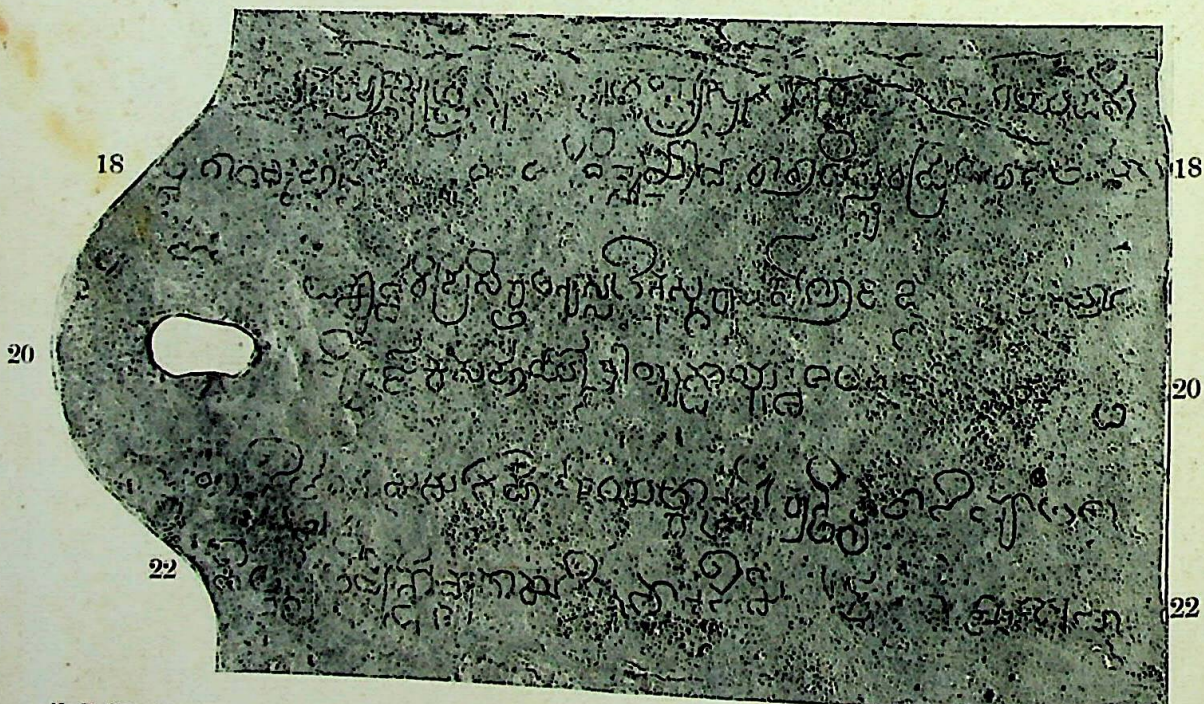
⁴ Sewall: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 303.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU.
A.—Incomplete grant of the Eastern Chalukya Vikramaditya (II).

iih.



iiia.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

From photographs.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TEXT of A.2

1Tat-putrō Jayasir̥ṇha-vallaḥhas=trayastr̥ṇśad^a-va[r̥ṣhāṇi] | tad-anu-
2 [j-Ēndra-r̥ā*]^ajasya priya-tana[yō] Viṣṇuvarddhanō nava [vatsa]r̥ān | tat-sutō Maṇḍi-
yu-
3 [varājaḥ pa*]^anchaviṇśati[m̥*] | tat-putrō Jayasir̥ṇhas=trayōdaśa vatsar̥ān [I*] tad-
dvaimātur-ānujaḥ
4 [Kōkṣi*]^aṇiḥ śhaṇ-māsān | tasya [jyēshṭhō] bhrātā Viṣṇuvarddha[naḥ] sv-ānujam-
ājā[v=u]-
5 [chchā*]^aṭya saptatrimśat^a | tat-tanuḥ Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārakaḥ aṣṭā[daśa]
6 [varshāṇi*]^a tad-aurasō Viṣṇurājaḥ śhaṭtrimśad-abdān^a | tat-sutō Vijayādityaś-
chatvārimśata
7^a[a]śhṭōttara-śata-śrīman-Narēndrēśvara-kārakaḥ [I*] tad-ātmajaḥ [Ka]ḷi-Viṣṇu-
varddhanas=s-ārdha-
8 [samāḥ | tat-sutō*]^a Vijayāditya[h] chatuśchatvārimśad^a-varshāṇi | tad-bhrātur-
yuvarājasya Vi-

9 [kramādityasya*] tanayaḥ Chālukya-Bhīmas-trimśad²-varṣāpi ¹ tat-sutō Vijayādī-
10 [tyaḥ śaṇṇ-māsā*]n ¹⁰sapta-saṁvatsarān-ta(rāms=ta)sya sūnur-Amma-mahīpatiḥ [¹*]
Yātō Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa-bhū[bhu]
11 ◡ ◡ — prāpt-ābhishēkas-ta[ta]s-sūnum — ◡ vaśāt-sa — ◡ Vijayādityaḥ punas-
Tālapa[ḥ] [¹*]
12 — — — ru-gaṭam vidhūya ba ◡ — — [bhūya] bhūmīśva[rō] bhūmim pālayati
13 ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ tam śrutvā vachō — ◡ — [¹¹*]¹¹ Āgatyā drutam-āyata-pratimukha
14 — — ◡ — n-uddhatān=hatvā tad-rudhirā ◡ bhīma-[ba]la — nistrimśa-bhāsvad-bhuja-
[ḥ]] tān=dagdhvā
15 ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ śrīmad-Vikramāditya-bhūpālas=Tālapam=ēsha paṭṭam=avahach=
chū
16 — — — — — — — [¹²*]¹¹ Viśal-āvakaśam=imaṁ.....kṣhiti-payōrāśi[shu] kūla-sālī

²¹ Metro: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

Third Plate; First Side.

- 17t-prabhur=adhipatēr=yyasya sarōruhāsanaḥ || [3*]¹ Yad-asi
 18 ○ — — tv-āgādham=mahad-ripur=ambugair=vviṣati vimukhō vārām rāśim sphura
 rapa-ranigataḥ | ya
 19 ○ ○ vanitā-chakshur=vvāri-prasikta-tanus=satīn=asakrid-akhilā jajñe — — ○ — ○
 20 ○ — ○ — || [4*]² Vikram-aika-sahāyō=sṣṭau yu[d*]dhvā yuddha-śataṁ samā[h] yudd
 labdha
 21 ○ — rājyam yaḥ kīrttyā samam=agrahit || [5*]³ Yat-kānti-vikrānti-kṛit-ābhībhūti la
 22 — ○ — — ○ chitta-vṛiti(vṛitti)! [1*] chandrō mṛig-ārāti-ruchāv=ap=īmau jāta
 ○ — — ○ guhā

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 23 ○ — — [6*]⁴ [A]panudati parēshām rāga-mō[hau ya]dīyō [di]ṣati cha karavāla
 24 — ○ — — — | chirayati samagraṁ bhūri-sāmsāra-mōhan=Nara iva
 25 [bhu ?]vi siddhō lōka-vikhyāta-kīrttiḥ || [7*]⁵ Sa samastabbhuvanāśraya-śrī-
 26 [Vi]kramāditya-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāra-
 27 [ka-pa]ramabrahmaṇyaḥ Kaṇḍērvvāḍi-vishaya-nivāsinō rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhā-
 28 [n=kuṭumbinas=sa]rvvān=ittham=ājñāpayati viditam=astu |mādityā..⁶

TEXT of B.⁷

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 3-35 *Anushṭubh*, v. 2 *Sragdharā*, v. 36 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate.

- 1 Śrī-Gaṇādhīpatayē namaḥ | Avyād=vaḥ prathamah Pautrī(Pōtrī) sarasā-
 2 m=udvahan=rasā[m]* priy-āṁga-saṁga-saṁjāta-sū(sā)ndra-śvē(svē)d-ōdayām=i-
 3 vaḥ(iva) [] [1*] Rīmga[n*]n=utsaṁga-rāmgē nija-radana-dīyā(dhiyā) Saṁ(Sām)karaḥ
 4 s-ōttamāmgād-a(ā)karshan(nn)=indu-lēkhām pitari gata-rada-stēyam=
 5 ārōpayam=s-chah(cha) [1*] mātuḥ prōtsāhayamtyā smita-śuchi-vadanaṁ vīkshamā-
 6 ṇa(ṇaḥ) sa-hāsam bālō vāskalya(vātsalya)-bhūmīḥ kalayatu muditō maṁ-
 7 galānyakadantaḥ(lāny=Ēkadantaḥ) [] [2*] Asti kaustubha-kalpadru-kāmadhēnu-sahōdarā
 (raḥ) [1*]
 8 Rāmānuja[h*] Sudhānāthaḥ kshira-sāgara-saṁbhavaḥ [] [3*] Udabhūd=anvayē ta-
 9 sya Yadu-nāmā mahīpatīḥ | pālitaṁ yat-kulinīna(nēna) Vasudōvēna bhū-
 10 talaṁ(lam) [] [4*] Abbūd=asya kulē śrīmān=abham[gura*]-guṇ-ōdayaḥ | apāsta-durit-ā-
 11 saṁga[s*]=Saṁgamō nāma bhūpatīḥ [] [5*] Dik-karīdra(ndra)-du(dhu)r-ādhāra-dakshī-
 12 skandha-bandhuraḥ | Bukkarāya[s*]=tataḥ śrīmān=āsīd-āhava-ka-
 13 rkasah(śaḥ) [] [6*] Ahina-bhōga-saṁ(saṁ)saktir=asau rāja-śikhā-
 14 maṇiḥ | gōptā Hariharāṁ Gauryāṁ kumāram=udapā-
 15 dayat [] [7*] Sishṭām(Śiṣṭān) saṁra[ksha*]tō yasya dushṭān=api pi(ni)gri-
 16 ṇpataḥ | labdh-ārthair=vidushā[n*] sārthai[s*]=ślāghyām(ghyā) Hā(Ha)ri-

¹ Metre may be *Aryā*.² Metre: *Harinī*.³ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.⁴ Metre: *Indravajrā*.⁵ Metre: *Mālinī*.⁶ The continuation is missing.⁷ From the original plates and ink-impressions.

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